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THE INSIDE STORY

Guest Column by Thomas Conrad



Rudolf Bahro

East Germany jails a critic

"We have a state machine like the one Marx and Engels wanted to smash."

Dutifully following the Soviets' lead in handling their domestic critics, the German Democratic Republic (GDR) squared off with one of its own dissidents this summer. After nearly nine months in prison, East German Marxist theoretician Rudolf Bahro was brought to trial in June for allegedly engaging in espionage against the East German government.

Unlike the more publicized cases of Soviet refuseniks Yuri Orlov and Anatoly Shcharansky, Bahro's trial was kept secret. A brief report in the Socialist Unity Party (SED) newspaper on July 3, announced the guilty verdict and sentence of eight years. According to the report in *Neues Deutschland*, Bahro was guilty of "systematically collecting intelligence and information for transmission to enemy powers in the Federal Republic of Germany." Bahro appealed, but on Aug. 1, the East German Supreme Court upheld the sentence.

Other East German dissidents and leftists in the West view the espionage charge merely as an excuse to get Bahro out of circulation. The 42-year-old dissident is actually guilty of a crime he was not charged with, publicly criticizing the East German brand of socialism.

Political police will be powerless.

Bahro was arrested late last August after the West German news magazine *Der Spiegel* published his critical theses. His major offense was arranging for the publication of his book, *Die Alternative*, by a West German trade union publishing house. "I have written a book against which the political police will be powerless because it strikes at the heart of the party apparatus," said the Marxist theoretician.

Distancing himself from many other Eastern European dissidents who focus primarily on the human rights question, Bahro said, "Unfortunately, a major

part of the Soviet opposition still allows itself to be occupied with the personal evil and baseness of the great dictator [Stalin] instead of examining the social structure."

According to Bahro, "Socialism as it really exists"—the GDR's much-trumpeted official formula—is a defensive slogan symptomatic of the legitimization crisis the East German government faces. In his view, the Soviet Union and most of its Eastern European neighbors are stuck in a proto-socialist phase of development. The Russian Revolution resulted in a social order markedly different from the one envisioned by the pioneers of socialism. The "politburocratic dictatorship" that has since emerged in the Soviet bloc perpetuates its existence by deliberately creating false consciousness among working people.

Bahro contends that the lionized "Socialism as it really exists" in the GDR has fostered a new form of dependence or "subalternity"—not to capital but to a giant unresponsive hierarchy. "We have a state machine like the one Marx and Engels wanted to smash with the proletarian revolution," writes the East German theoretician.

The Soviet bloc countries are guilty of emulating their opponents, according to Bahro. A dynamic of growth similar to that of capitalism animates East European economic planning, and because it stipulates constant increases in production and consumption it will ultimately lead to disaster.

The East German SED is bereft of any ability to change or grow in a positive direction. The only viable alternative is a new non-party opposition group that Bahro hopes will eventually reinvigorate the communist movement.

A quiet figure.

From the start, Rudolf Bahro was an unlikely prospect for an espionage trial or the international notoriety it gained him. As a youthful idealist, he joined the SED when he turned 18 and was groomed for middle-echelon party leadership.

When he was eventually appointed associate editor of *Forum*, at that time one of the major ideological publications in the country, Bahro's chances for a cushy party career were cinched. However, from his vantage point Bahro had an insider's view of political life in the GDR. He concluded that the Marxist ideology of the SED was "only a facade." Eventually he arranged for a transfer to an obscure industry job.

Bahro's doubts continued to grow. He followed the Czechoslovakian reform efforts enthusiastically, hoping to find a way of applying them in his own country. After the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 in which the East German People's Army played a major role, he composed a letter of resignation from the SED but decided not to send it at the last minute. Instead he plunged into a major project, a dissection of "Socialism as it really exists" that would last ten years.

Unlike the well known poet-singer Wolf Biermann who was expatriated from the GDR two years ago, Bahro is a quiet figure who was without a following until his book was published. Yet for all his lack of charisma and fame, Bahro has certainly made the most substantive contribution to critical socialist thought in the GDR for several years.

Perhaps his closest precursors are Wolfgang Harich, Ernst Bloch and Robert Havemann, three central figures in the opposition movement of the mid-'50s who pressed for a more rapidly paced program of de-Stalinization and called for "genuine humanistic socialism" as an attractive, competitive alternative to the restoration of capitalism in West Germany. Harich was eventually arrested and forced to recant. Bloch emigrated and has since died. Havemann is still living in Berlin under close police scrutiny.

Bahro has been linked to the "League of Democratic Communists," an anonymous opposition group with similar goals that published a democratic socialist manifesto in the GDR a few months ago. The link may have existed at some point, but the dissident took care to cut most of his ties before going public. Two years ago he divorced his wife and moved out of the family home. As far as is known, none of Bahro's friends or associates have been implicated in his activities.

As a droll gesture of goodwill, Bahro observed the usual protocol by first attempting to publish his book in East Germany. One of the largest publishers in the country rejected his manuscript out of hand. The renegade theoretician also hoped to stimulate discussion by circulating several mimeographed copies of his book among leading functionaries, including party economists.

Solidarity committees launched.

The publication of his book in the West shook the party. Within the SED leadership, there was disagreement how to manage the crisis. Politburo member Kurt Hager, who is responsible for cultural affairs, reportedly argued in favor of a moderate response from the government. The hardliners finally won out and Bahro's arrest was ordered. In spite of the SED crackdown, Bahro's book has a wide readership in the GDR, and the party has had to go to great lengths to justify the stiff sentence given to him.

Bahro's book aroused vigorous interest in the West. The first printing was sold out in advance, and sales have been brisk since. Foreign language versions of *Die Alternative* are due to appear in the U.S. and several Western European countries.

The western German Communist party (DKP) loyally followed the GDR's suit with a condemnation of Bahro's theses in the party newspaper. *Unsere Zeit* dismissed the Marxist critic as a counter-revolutionary demagogue, guilty of "defaming our working class, its demands and its struggles."

Eurocommunist parties in France and Italy immediately distanced themselves from Bahro's arrest and several well-known members issued statements of support. Ranking members of several West German labor unions criticized the verdict.

Bahro was awarded the 1978 "Carl von Ossietzky Medal" by the League for Human Rights in memory of the German anti-fascist author who died in a Nazi concentration camp. Messages of support for the East German critic came in from around Europe and rallies have been held in nearly every larger West German city. Solidarity committees have since been launched in Berlin, Paris and London.

Bahro's future is uncertain. Before his trial, the government was reportedly willing to allow him to emigrate quietly to the West but he refused. Since the SED felt forced to bring him to trial, some knowledgeable observers in the West think the East Germans will decline to make any more concessions.

If, as many West German leftists fear, the GDR is adopting a new get-tough policy towards those who publicly stray off the party path, the SED will probably use the Bahro case as an example to other would-be critics. If that is the case, he will probably serve the full eight-year sentence.

International opinion is likely to play a significant role in the long-run outcome of the Bahro affair. Bahro and many others in the fledgling Marxist opposition of the GDR feel a lot of kinship with the Western European communist parties. Continued support from the western left on behalf of the dissidents in East Germany will help focus international attention on their vision and further legitimize their right to be heard.

Tom Conrad is a Philadelphia free-lance writer who recently returned from West Germany.

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IN THE NATION

LABOR

Neither rain, nor sleet, nor summer...

By David Moberg

FOR A FEW DAYS LAST WEEK IT looked, once again, like the 600,000 postal workers might dam the nation's rivers of mail in pursuit of a satisfactory contract. Then, with only hours to go before the unions' leaders were mandated by their constitutions to call a legally prohibited strike, a new negotiating arrangement was approved. But that arrangement in turn has pushed dissatisfied local leaders toward taking into their own hands coordination of a nationwide strike that is still a very strong possibility.

When the mail ballots for the Letter Carriers, Postal Workers and Mail Handlers were counted, Aug. 23-25, the tally showed members of the three negotiating unions rejecting the July 21 settlement by a 56 percent vote, 181,129 to 145,068. (A fourth union of rural letter carriers is not involved in this contract.) That contract had been approved by the postal service and union negotiators on the eve of the contract expiration and was followed by wildcat strikes in New Jersey and the Bay Area of California.

Tough-talking postmaster general William F. Bolger adamantly insisted that he would not go back to the bargaining table. The Postal Reorganization Act of 1970, which established the quasi-governmental Postal Service on the model of profit-making corporations, provided for federal fact-finding and arbitration. That was all he would accept.

But delegates to conventions of the Letter Carriers and the Postal Worker unions during the past month had passed constitutional orders that their unions must strike if the Postal Service did not resume bargaining within five days after a contract was rejected. Leaders were caught between an intransigent Postal Service, anti-strike provisions of the Postal Reorganization Act and a federal judge's restraining order, on one hand, and their members' recent dictates calling for a strike, on the other.

Wayne Horvitz, head of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, bustled back and forth between the unions and the Postal Service, finally persuading both sides to sit down with a mediator. If they reached an agreement within 15 days, it would be submitted to the members for a vote. If not, the mediator would become an arbitrator and pronounce a binding settlement not subject to membership ratification. Talks started Sept. 1 with Harvard business school professor James Healy acting as mediator.

Pay issue central to negotiations.

Although the two parties can mutually agree to discuss anything in the contract, they are committed only to a discussion of money and the union's prized no-layoff clause. There were conflicting reports about the restrictions on topics: some observers claimed that the Postal Service refused to open up sensitive issues of working conditions but postal union officials were also quoted as saying that they were happy that only the pay package (which the union wants to strengthen) and the no-layoff clause (which management wants to weaken) would be on the table.

The arrangement was promptly faulted by numerous local union leaders on several grounds: neglect of important issues, acceptance of arbitration and setting the stage for compromise on the no-layoff protection. Without the threat of a strike, which many of them began to plan, there would be no chance of progress on any issue, they argued, including pay.

The pay settlement has been roundly



The sorting area of the central post office in Los Angeles, Calif. The unions want higher wages and no layoffs.

The Postal Service agreed to reopen negotiations with the Postal Unions and avert a strike.

attacked. AFL-CIO president George Meany, in a rare comment on labor negotiations, called it disappointing. The contract was rejected as well by conventions of the Postal Workers and Letter Carriers and by the Postal Workers' bargaining council.

The contract provided increases in pay in each of the three years of 2 percent, 3 percent and 5 percent. (Union negotiators had pleaded that "front loading" the contract with the larger increase first would have made the deal more palatable to workers.) Also, for the first time ceilings were set on the periodic cost-of-living increases. They could not have totaled more than \$1,518 over the contract. Taken together, these pay provisions would have increased the average \$16,000 salary by 19.5 percent over three years. By various calculations Postal Workers are likely to suffer wage losses from inflation, especially if the rate goes over 10 percent. A Congressional Budget Office study even calculated that only one-third of the likely first year cost-of-living increase would have been covered by the new contract.

Management whittles workforce.

Union negotiators had conceded on wages to protect their clause that prohibits layoffs of permanent employees, which management had wanted to eliminate. Job security has taken on special importance to postal workers in recent years as they have watched the postal service whittle down their number by 86,000 since 1970.

Now local union officials fear that bargain-ers will weaken the no-layoff clause in order to squeeze more money out of the Postal Service. In a telephone conversation, Postal Workers president Emmet Andrews "made reference to some possibility of tampering with the no-layoff clause," Cleveland local president William Burrus said. "That is totally unacceptable. I don't see that as something the

union would relinquish—not a comma, an apostrophe, a period."

Burrus and others worry that protection against layoffs will be limited to workers hired before a specified date or to those who already have a minimum level of seniority. Such a "grandfather clause" would effectively end protection against layoffs as a principle, make young workers especially vulnerable and open older workers to harassment designed to force resignation or early retirement.

Even if such concessions aren't made, "the issues have been too confined and too limited," New York Metro president Moe Biller, a leading critic of Andrews within the Postal Workers, said. "There are at least a half-dozen other issues, including mandatory overtime, safety and health, supervisors performing bargaining unit work, and amnesty." Others added demands to make workers innocent until proven guilty in the grievance procedure, conversion of long-term "part-time" employees to full-time status, restrictions on the "route evaluation" actions and establishment of penalties for supervisors who violate the contract.

Amnesty for the workers fired as a result of wildcat strikes, now numbering around 150 by various estimates, is important to many members who feel that the protestors were right in their objections, even if a bit too quick to act. Although Andrews and five regional coordinators are scheduled to meet with Bolger to discuss amnesty, those talks are outside the formal negotiations.

The Postal Service, which sent letters to all employees in July telling them that they would be considered felonious criminals subject to fines, jail and firing if they dared to strike, seems intent on frightening other workers from striking by making an object lesson of the wildcat strikers. Workers are still being fired. Jack Watkins, the California Bay Area local president, who was himself recently fired,

said that postal inspectors are reviewing videotapes of picket lines to identify possible wildcat supporters and dismiss them.

Cutting corners and across lawns.

With the reorganization of the Postal Service, working condition complaints have increased in importance, even though they will not be discussed in the new talks. The Postal Service, in line with then President Richard Nixon's philosophy, was to be set up as a profit-making business. "The service philosophy," Watkins says, "was replaced by a philosophy of 'Let's make money.'" Yet "not one postal service in the world makes money," Watkins argues.

Taking up traditional business practices, the Postal Service has tried to cut costs by hiring fewer workers and forcing the ones on the job to work long overtime hours. Supervision and discipline have also increased, along with widespread mechanization and "vehiclization."

Letter carriers have been particularly incensed about the Postal Service's "route evaluation" and street supervision. It started as the "Kokomo plan" in 1974. That was an adventure in "scientific management" that tried to measure average steps and computerize the optimum carrier route. Although later modified, postal inspectors still monitor—or "spy" on—letter carriers in the field. "It's demeaning to the individual carrier to be followed like a child," complains Vincent Sombrotto, head of the New York branch of the Letter Carriers that triggered the 1970 postal strike.

"They go out looking for people on their routes," Chicago letter carrier Joann Elam said, "seeing that they cross lawns when they're supposed to cross lawns, being where you're supposed to be, wearing the correct uniform. Even in the middle of last winter they told one carrier to take off his coat so they could see if he had a tie on. That really gets to carriers. One of the beauties of the job is that we're off on our own. With this time and motion thing, we can't find our own ways to be efficient. I think they would like to turn it into an assembly line. They just want control. It's not that they're doing it for anybody's best interest."

Yet it is not just the fear of new con-

Continued on page 18.

PROPERTY



Tenants hound landlords for rent rebates

By W. Dennis Keating

THE DEFEAT IN THE CALIFORNIA Senate on Aug. 28 of a modest rent rebate bill that would have forced landlords to share their property tax savings with tenants set the stage for a series of local landlord-tenant battles throughout California this fall.

The issue of rent relief for California's 11 million renters promises to be a major controversy in the gubernatorial campaign between incumbent Democrat Jerry Brown and his Republican challenger Attorney General Evelle Younger.

Howard Jarvis, the ultra-conservative co-author of the Proposition 13 initiative limiting property taxes that was passed by a 2-1 margin on June 6, unintentionally touched off the greatest tenant-organizing activity in California's recent history. Jarvis, lobbyist for the Los Angeles Apartment Owners' Association, promised tenants that they, as well as homeowners and business, would share in Proposition 13's benefits. The California Apartment Association (CAA) promised tenants a rent reduction, although Prop. 13 did not guarantee that landlords' property tax savings (estimated to exceed \$1 billion) would be passed on to tenants. Many tenants were also threatened with rent increases if Prop. 13 lost.

Despite the opposition of tenant organizations, a majority of California's voting tenants favored the Jarvis-Gann initiative. They rejected the legislature's alternative proposal to double the renters' income tax rebate from \$37 to \$75. One feature of the Jarvis-Gann constitutional amendment was its prohibition of any new taxes on real estate. This will prevent the passage of anti-real estate speculation tax measures such as the one recently proposed by the San Francisco Housing Coalition.

Since June 6 angry tenants, especially the thousands whose rents have been increased, have organized to demand rent rebates. Tenant activists and advocates have sought to introduce state and local legislation and, failing that, to organize against landlords.

A modest proposal.

Liberal Democratic legislators led by Assemblymember Tom Bates of Oakland introduced legislation to require landlords to rebate 80 percent of their property tax windfall to tenants in 1979. While it did not restrict landlords' right to increase rents, it did require them to disclose to tenants the reasons for any rent increase. The powerful real estate lobbies strongly opposed this rather modest legislation as the first step toward rent control. They especially objected to the disclosure requirement. Howard Ruby, a major Los Angeles landlord and head of the California Housing Council (CHC—a statewide anti-rent control group of major developers) predicted: "Tenants are going to start rebelling, striking, being polarized against landlords."

Gov. Brown's last-minute endorsement of the Bates bill did not result in its passage. For weeks Brown endorsed voluntary rent rebates with the support of the CAA and the CHC. Brown had been quick to meet with Howard Jarvis after the election. In the past Brown has opposed rent control. Big landlords like Ruby are supporting Brown for re-election.

After demonstrating tenants broke up Brown's private meeting with landlord representatives in San Francisco on July 24, Brown met with tenant representatives and established a state hotline for tenant complaints. After three weeks, Brown closed the hotline after 15,000 complaining tenants jammed the lines. Tenants reported receiving rent increases averaging \$34 monthly. Brown then attacked landlords for failing to heed his

plea for voluntary self-regulation.

The CHC released a survey claiming that only 15 percent of California's renters have received rent increases since May and that the average increase was only 11 percent. But their survey showed only 1 percent of the tenants received rent rebates. The CHC itself supported voluntary rent rebates and waged a highly-publicized campaign in Los Angeles to persuade landlords to promise to hold the line on rent increases until the end of 1978. Ruby himself was forced to roll back announced rent increases in his 13,000 apartments due to tenant protests.

The CHC, whose 200 members own 250,000 apartments, actually opposed Proposition 13 and denounced Jarvis' promise of a rent rebate as an "illusion." Anticipating the best year for apartment construction in California since 1973, the CHC was willing to make token concessions to tenant demands. It supported state legislation requiring landlords to rebate 80 percent of their savings, but objected to any other restrictions on landlords, in an attempt to deflate local tenant demands for legislation stronger than the Bates bill. While this bill also went down to defeat in the conservative California Senate, a similar version was placed on the Berkeley ballot by the anti-rent control Democratic majority as an alternative to a tenant-sponsored initiative.

Tenants place rollbacks on ballot.

By mid-summer, tenant groups in Berkeley, San Francisco, Davis, and Palo Alto easily collected enough signatures to qualify rent rebate initiatives on the Nov. 7 ballot. Except for Berkeley, they all would require landlords to roll back their rents to their May 31 level, pass on to all tenants (residential and commercial) 100 percent of their Proposition 13 savings in 1979, limit rent increases during next year and require disclosure of the reasons for any allowable rent increases, protect tenants against retaliatory evictions, and allow tenants to enforce the law through the courts.

In Berkeley, where rent control and tenant unionization initiatives lost by a 3-2 margin in April 1977, Berkeley Citizens Action, associated with Congress member Ron Dellums, qualified an initiative that only requires an 80 percent re-

bate, freezes rents during 1979, and exempts owner-occupant landlords. The California Housing Action and Information Network (CHAIN), formed in 1976 to coordinate and promote tenant organizing and lobbying, is coordinating these local initiative campaigns. The landlords are expected to wage a heavily-funded campaign against these rent rebate initiatives, and against a rent stabilization initiative proposed in Santa Cruz. On June 6 the landlords successfully opposed rent control initiatives in Santa Barbara and Santa Monica at a combined cost of \$425,000.

City ordinances passed.

Elsewhere in California where initiative campaigns were not possible in time for the Nov. 7 election, tenant groups have mobilized to pressure local government to act. Los Angeles is the most dramatic example. A tenant-backed effort in the fall of 1977 to persuade the Los Angeles City Council to pass rent control failed. Instead, it established an experimental Landlord-Tenant Mediation Board.

On Aug. 22 the City Council voted to freeze rents, which would be rolled back to May 31, until the end of 1978. Twice the City Council had tried to pass a rent freeze, which was spurred by thousands of tenant complaints of rent increases and the support of Mayor Bradley, himself a landlord. A survey of Los Angeles tenants revealed that 11 percent received rent increases since June 6, while only 7 percent had received landlord promises of future rent rebates. This action came in face of tremendous landlord lobbying pressure and promises of voluntary rebates in December. However, both Howard Jarvis and Paul Gann appeared to support this ordinance. El Monte preceded Los Angeles on July 28 when it passed a rent freeze that was proposed by Tom Hayden's Campaign for Economic Democracy. Similar rent rebate proposals are pending in Long Beach, Oakland, San Diego, Santa Barbara, Santa Monica, and numerous other cities. For the first time, tenants have become a visible and vocal force in municipal politics.

In addition to legislative lobbying and initiative campaigns, tenants are also taking direct action. Although California's laws offer little protection for tenant organizers and rent strikes, tenants have begun organizing protests to rent increases and tenant-landlord conflicts have sharpened. Seventeen elderly tenants, protesting a 10 percent rent increase in a San Francisco building, are being threatened with eviction by West German real estate speculator Guenter Kaussen. And hundreds of Berkeley tenants formed an association representing the 29 buildings managed by the Harmon Bennet company. Their new union successfully negotiated a rollback of impending rent increases, a 5 percent rent increase ceiling during 1979, and a 100 percent rebate of Jarvis-Gann tax savings. With or without legal protection, more tenants are expected to organize in the wake of Jarvis-Gann, especially when California landlords receive their reduced tax bills in October.

Twenty-three percent of California's tenants (1,780,000) already pay more than 25 percent of their income in rent. With the average price of a new house in California expected to rise to \$90,000 in 1978, a growing number of tenants can no longer afford to become homeowners. With rents inflating, vacancy rates and housing construction declining, and landlords increasingly converting apartments into condominiums, the housing squeeze in California is growing. With the tenant vote looming as a decisive factor in the hot fall election campaign, politicians like Jerry Brown are courting the tenant vote.

The combination of these factors and the refusal of the landlords to deliver on Howard Jarvis' promises have exposed them to just what he himself predicted—tenant demands for rent control. The next year in California will be volatile. If the landlords don't voluntarily give tenant rent rebates, local rent rebate and rent control laws will spring up all over California.

W. Dennis Keating is a professor of law at the New College of California.

ELECTIONS

New right crosses Ed Brooke



Sen. Edward Brooke of Massachusetts, the only black senator, is facing a strong challenge from the right ring of his own party. The new right candidate in the primary, Avi Nelson, is a leading figure in the anti-busing movement, a devotee of Ayn Rand, and is heavily financed by mailing list wizard Richard Viguerie.

By Sid Blumenthal

BOSTON

A PECULIAR COMBINATION OF marital peccadillos, TV talk show salesmanship and public fervor over school busing and abortions may end Sen. Edward Brooke's career and the political hegemony of Boston's 300-year-old Brahmin elite.

Until Brooke recently acknowledged that he had short-changed his ex-wife in their divorce settlement, the Republican senator was virtually invincible. As a result of his household crisis, however, Brooke has suffered severe political damage.

Leaping into the breach as his main challenger was an attractive young "new right" candidate, Avi Nelson. The son of a rabbi and a former radio talk show host, Nelson is a leading proponent of the city's anti-busing movement. Helped by national conservative mailing list wizard Richard Viguerie, Nelson could defeat Brooke in the upcoming Republican Party primary.

Decline of Yankee Republicanism.

A devotee of Ayn Rand's extreme conservative philosophy, he advocates the usual array of new right positions: anti-abortion, anti-Equal Rights Amendment, anti-affirmative action, anti-government. Nelson has twice sought the Republican nomination for the U.S. House of Representatives, but was defeated both times by more liberal opponents, who then lost in the general elections.

Nelson's break came with the rise of the anti-busing movement and a local radio talk show that he used to trumpet the movement's cause. He soon became a featured speaker at anti-busing rallies, was given a TV talk show and a column in the Boston *Herald American*.

Nelson tempered his tone when he en-

tered the senatorial contest. Now he says he will refuse to discuss Brooke's private woes in a public forum, thereby cleverly making them an unspoken issue.

Yet Nelson himself has been embarrassed by issues that may hurt his cam-

petts—the party of Henry Cabot Lodge and Leverett Saltonstall—is weakening.

The attempt by the New Right to take over the Massachusetts Republican Party may be its most audacious move nationally. Though the state GOP slid into seem-

Right-wing candidate hopes to capitalize on Brooke's newfound weaknesses and challenge Boston's old guard, Yankee Republicans. Avi Nelson has a chance to win.

paign. First is an all-expenses paid trip he made to South Korea, courtesy of a Korean government agency controlled by the KCIA.

Nelson has also been embarrassed by his wife's peculiar comments about several social issues. As a possible solution to the abortion conundrum, for example, she has proposed taking the fetuses from women desiring abortions and inserting them into women unable to conceive.

Despite such idiosyncracies, Nelson is being heavily financed and promoted by the New Right, which hopes to increase its standing within the Republican Party by knocking off moderates.

The Republicans recently gave the state gubernatorial nomination to Edward F. King, a self-made entrepreneur and something of a New Rightist himself. His intraparty rival is Francis Hatch, a state legislator and proper GOP Brahmin married to the heiress of the Merck drug fortune.

The nomination of King and the ascendancy of Nelson are signs that the old Yankee hold on the GOP in Massachu-

setts—the party of Henry Cabot Lodge and Leverett Saltonstall—is weakening.

Brooke and the Boston Brahmins.

Sen. Brooke is more than the state's most prominent Republican office holder. He personifies the 19th century relationship of Brahmins with blacks in Boston.

Black leadership until the New Deal was overwhelming Republican. Until 1960 blacks constituted only 3 percent of Boston's population. The old established black families of Boston predate the first wave of Irish immigrants. To them, the Irish are newcomers. A special relationship based on Yankee *noblesse oblige* developed between the blacks and the Brahmin aristocracy.

In its challenge to Brooke, the New Right has assaulted the traditional basis of the Massachusetts GOP and threatened to disrupt the established order within the state Republican Party as a part of its national strategy.

On the Democratic side, the race for the opportunity to face Brooke is intense. Before the Brooke divorce scandal the field was sparse. One of the leading contenders, state legislator Elaine Noble, is an avowed lesbian who plays her politics within traditional bounds at the State House, and therefore was supported by the Beacon Hill leadership.

A week before Brooke's divorce scandal hit the press, Lieutenant Governor Thomas P. O'Neill III, the son of Speaker of the U.S. House Tip O'Neill, met privately with Noble and asked her to drop out of the race to clear the way for him. She refused and excoriated him in public. "Tippy Tom" (as Tom O'Neill is known locally) then withdrew his name from consideration. A week later the Brooke scandal was revealed.

Other conflicts arose. U.S. Rep. Paul Tsongas, an earnest young liberal, entered the fray, after receiving word from Massachusetts Secretary of State Paul Guzzi, another liberal, that Tsongas would have his support. Guzzi, however, reconsidered and entered.

Next came Kathleen Sullivan Alioto. She is a moderate member of the Boston School Committee, daughter of the owner of the New England Patriots football team, and married to former San Francisco mayor Joseph Alioto. Frank Sinatra appeared at one of her early fund-raisers.

Regardless of who wins the Democratic nomination, Brooke will face a much stronger opponent than ever before. Although Massachusetts black leaders have vowed their unending allegiance to Brooke, they constitute a small constituency statewide.

In the past, Brooke has won because of the unique coalition that formed around him, and because he was a unique candidate. Brushed by a scandal, he is no longer a shoo-in.

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LABOR

Unions are fighting deportation of Mexican workers

By Gina Lobaco

SOUTH EL MONTE SITS AT THE geographic center of the Los Angeles basin. A few miles to the north, the Sierra Madre mountains stand obscured from view by the dense smog that hangs like a sooty veil over this small suburban town.

On the morning of May 17 officers of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) conducted an "industrial survey" of the Sbicca shoe factory there. Forty INS agents arrived at the plant, sealed the exits, swept through the factory, and picked up more than 120 workers. After fingerprinting, photographing and extracting statements that could be used to deport them, half of those arrested were placed on buses headed for Mexico.

Unions move to fight deportations.

Raids at Sbicca are commonplace. The Department of Commerce's Economic Development Administration granted Sbicca a \$700,000 loan on the condition that they hire no undocumented workers. In order to enforce this provision Sbicca agreed to let the INS search the factory for illegal workers without notice.

But this raid was different. It came less than a week after a certification election at the Sbicca factory. Though the union had lost narrowly, union organizers saw the raid as an attempt to reverse organizing gains. The INS had recently turned away from conducting random street sweeps in the Hispanic community, a policy that generated enormous resentment, and began searching factories and businesses. The growing number of factory raids has moved unions like the Retail Clerks, International Ladies' Garment Workers and International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's into an alliance with immigration activists to prevent the INS from engaging in union-busting activities.

When Retail Clerks union organizer Jesse Gonzales received word of the raid he contacted attorney Peter Schey of Legal Services' Aliens' Rights program, who in turn alerted several immigration attorneys, Bill Blum, an attorney from the People's College of Law, appeared at the INS detention center with a list of all 700 Sbicca employees and identified himself as the legal counsel for those arrested.

Meanwhile, Peter Schey and Mark Rosenbaum of the ACLU quickly drew up a complaint against the INS. Citing the failure of the INS to advise the workers of their right to counsel, they asked the court to issue a temporary restraining order to stop the deportations.

The court granted a restraining order and the buses were turned around and sent back to L.A. Union organizers and several attorneys offered their services to those arrested. Of the 120 workers arrested, 65 decided to stay and fight deportation. The others, pressured by the INS, chose to depart voluntarily.

The INS, confronted by uncooperative defendants who invoke the Fifth Amendment, is going to extraordinary lengths to obtain evidence against them. Families and friends of those awaiting trial have been harassed; trips to Mexico to obtain birth certificates and marriage licenses have been made, and handwriting experts have been called in to compare signatures from past voluntary departure forms. Despite this effort, over 80 percent of the cases tried have been won.

Members of the defense team are guardedly optimistic that the successful fights against deportation, coupled with a class-action suit, will eventually lead to a Mi-



Mr. Sbicca (center) is the plant's owner. Above: Worker pushes shoes.

Factory raids conducted by the INS have compelled unions to side with undocumented workers in L.A.

randa-type decision that will require the INS to warn undocumented persons of their rights.

The Retail Clerks union organizers have now been withdrawn from participation in the immigration trials by the union's president because supporting undocumented workers goes against AFL-CIO policy on foreign workers. Union organizers are, however, continuing their unionization drive at Sbicca.

Organizing the undocumented.

Other unions are beginning to take a different position on the issue of undocumented workers. "About 70 percent of our members are Spanish-speaking," said Mario Vasquez, international organizer of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, "and we do not check on their immigration status. Our foremost interest in them is as workers."

The ILGWU has been at the forefront of unions opposed to Carter's partial amnesty plan for the undocumented. In a June address before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, western region organizing director Phil Russo told the panel that "we think America can do more. We support legislation that would grant full, permanent amnesty to all undocumented aliens now in this country. Anything else is not only unworkable; it is also inhumane."

In an effort to combat the depredations made on the undocumented workers by INS, the ILGWU has filed a lawsuit, in a case still pending in federal court, to stop factory raids. The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) plans to file an *amicus* brief to the suit.

Vasquez believes the ILGWU's sensitivity to the plight of the undocumented is due largely to its history as a "Union of immigrants." The same might also be

said of the ILWU, whose ex-president, Harry Bridges, fought a bitter political deportation battle and won.

"Undocumented workers don't undermine the gains won by unions," argues Lorenzo Gonzales, an ILWU organizer. "They ought to be given a medal for the work they perform."

A secondary labor market.

Most undocumented workers fulfill the role of a secondary labor market, taking menial jobs at minimum wages. According to Jose Luis Ramos, who holds the coordinating role of the Sbicca cases, "It is not uncommon for a worker to put in an 80-hour week at \$2.65 an hour or on a piecework basis and, after taxes, take home less than \$150.00 for the week." He adds that "the employer is a willing accomplice who will allow the same worker to put in a second shift under an alias." Holidays, sick pay, insurance and fringe benefits are unknown to the undocumented.

Aside from the hardship of long hours and little pay, the undocumented live in constant fear of raids. Many of the Sbicca workers have been sent back to Mexico several times, only to return a few days later, exhausting what little savings they have managed to accumulate by paying *coyotes* to help them across the border. In a world of uncertainty, their lives are tenuous at best.

Vasquez believes that factory owners have ambivalent feelings toward the INS, whose raids can work to their advantage or disadvantage. The INS can put an effective damper on unionization drives, but it can also mean that production is disrupted and money lost. Over 97 percent of the raids are conducted without a warrant, but factory owners allow INS to enter because, as Vasquez notes, "It's



Arturo Vallejo is plaintiff in suit.

just a matter of days before they return with a warrant."

Undocumented workers are beginning to realize that unions can bargain for better conditions. This has aided unionization attempts. Union representatives acknowledge that organizing in Los Angeles means organizing aliens.

"My personal view is that the only way they can solve this thing is to remove the fear," comments Paul Bluto of the United Auto Workers in reference to the INS disruption of organizing drives.

The Sbicca case has made many undocumented workers more informed about their rights in this country, and their anxiety about *la migra* (the INS) has lessened. When an INS agent recently appeared at the home of a worker, he was confronted by what Jose Luis Ramos has dubbed the undocumented workers' theme song: "I refuse to answer any questions."

Among the Sbicca defendants, Arturo Vallejo, the plaintiff in the class-action suit, is a staunch union advocate. "We have the right not to live with the constant fear of *la migra*," he said, "and we also have the right to organize ourselves as workers. We produce; we contribute. We are part of this country and will be recognized as such."

Gina Lobaco is a free-lance journalist in Los Angeles.

ENERGY

Safety measures for gas vanish into thin air

By Kathryn Waters Gest

WASHINGTON

AMID PREDICTIONS OF A fiery disaster in case of a spill, Congress is taking steps to tighten federal control over the transport and storage of liquefied gas. A bill pending before the House would require the government to oversee construction and operation of storage facilities for volatile liquefied natural gas (LNG). More than 120 of those sites are operating now, with others expected as U.S. dependence on imported gas increases. Most of them are in densely populated areas.

The bill also would increase federal control over liquefied petroleum gas (LPG), which is transported through 225,000 miles of pipelines and stored at 8,000 sites throughout the country. The measure would make LPG transport and storage subject to the same civil penalties that govern natural gas. Supporters of the bill say that this will make prosecution easier.

The bill also would increase federal control over natural gas pipelines and make utilities responsible for discovering leaks.

The measure is not very popular with either the gas or pipeline industries. Both say current regulations are tough enough and that their safety records are not adequately recognized.

Chances of the bill's passing this year are considered slim. The House is slated to take it up shortly after Labor Day. The way already has been cleared for it to go quickly into a conference committee with the Senate after it leaves the House, but there is a good chance that time will run out on the current Congress before final action can be taken. Adjournment has been tentatively set for mid-October.

Threat of accident spurs action.

Nonetheless, congressional interest in working to assure safe handling of the gases has been spurred by the recent release of a report by the General Accounting Office (GAO), Congress' investigative arm.

"A major spill in a densely populated area, whether by accident, natural forces or sabotage, could be catastrophic," said the GAO, which recommended that all new LNG storage complexes be built in remote areas.

LNG is natural gas that has been reduced to -261 degrees Fahrenheit and then compressed to 1/600th of its volume. Large tankers carry it from Algeria to two receiving stations in this country—one at Everett, Mass., and the other at Cove Point, Md. Domestic natural gas also is turned into LNG for storage during slack periods.

The only major LNG accident in this country took place in Cleveland in 1944. A storage tank gave way, killing 128 persons, injuring 300 and causing \$7 million in property damage.

If LNG is released, it vaporizes and expands immediately, moving with the prevailing winds. "The drifting gas cloud that results could be ignited by any spark—even one as small as that caused by an auto horn," according to one House Committee, which handled the bill.

If 125,000 cubic meters of LNG—the amount carried by a typical tanker—were released, "it could produce a flaming cloud 20 miles long and five miles wide," the committee said.

When LNG is released it forms a vapor cloud. The gas can be ignited by a single spark.

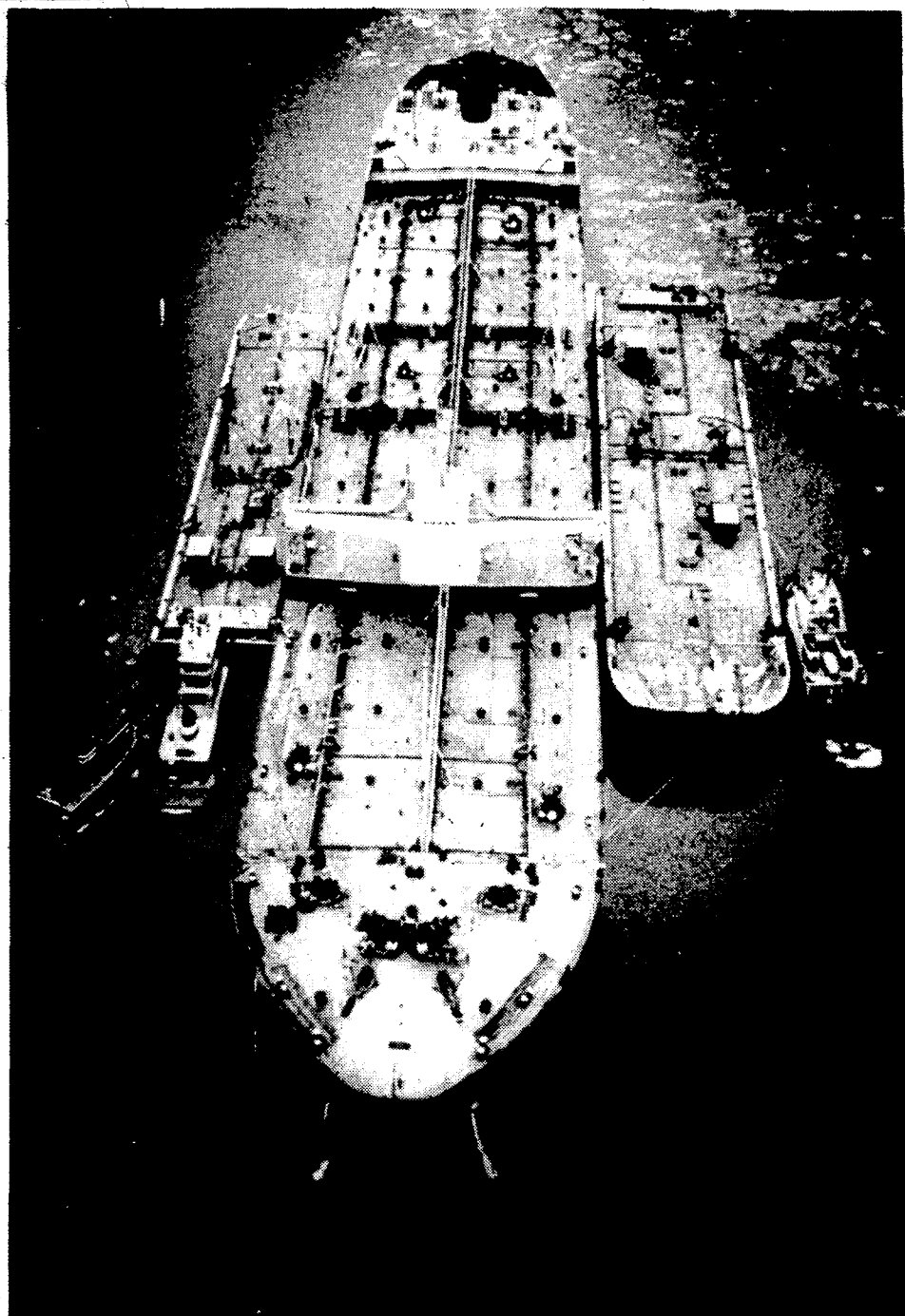
Propane a problem too.

LPG is the designation for a variety of liquid fuels, including propane and butane, that are used among other things for home heating and crop drying. They, too, are cooled to reduce their volume, but not to so low a temperature as LNG. Propane, for example, liquefies at -44 degrees.

LPG is shipped by truck, rail or barge. There have been several major accidents. Last February in Waverly, Tenn., for example, 12 persons were killed, scores injured and four square blocks leveled when a tank car carrying 30,000 gallons of propane exploded. More than 100 persons were killed this summer when an LPG truck crashed into a campground in Spain.

Like LNG, LPG is highly flammable. The committee speculated that if 9,000 gallons of either gas—the amount carried by the average truck—were released, it would fill 100 miles of six-foot sewer or 15 miles of 16-foot subway tunnel, "turning them into subterranean bombs of enormous destructive potential."

The pending bill would not interfere with the prerogative of states or the En-



Tankers carry liquefied natural gas (LNG) from Algeria to Cove Point, Md.

ergy Department to rule on the need for or the location of LNG storage sites. But it would require the Transportation Department to set safety standards for the location, construction, operation and maintenance of new and existing LNG storage complexes.

The government couldn't approve the building of a new storage site unless the owner provided a contingency plan detailing steps to be taken in case of an accident.

The bill also spells out criteria for setting the new standards, including a review of security measures to prevent sabotage.

Monte G. Canfield, head of the GAO division that prepared the study, warned the committee that security measures at most sites "are generally not adequate to deter even an untrained amateur saboteur."

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POLITICS

Right has falling out with business

By Alan Ehrenhalt

WASHINGTON

ALONG, MESSY POLITICAL divorce is being played out in the 95th Congress. The Republican right is divorcing big business. Disaffection between the corporations and the right, smoldering for years, has flared into open hostility since campaign finance reports for the 1976 election showed conservatives just where business was putting its political money.

Although a majority of identifiable business money still goes to candidates clearly seen as conservative, up to 40 percent of it is financing campaigns of liberal Democrats. In a Congress likely to be dominated by Democrats for the foreseeable future, business political action committees seek short-run influence as much as they do long-run change. Nothing infuriates conservatives more than that.

"Corporate managers are whores," says an emotional Rep. Robert F. Dornan, Republican from California. "They don't care who's in office, what party or what they stand for. They're just out to buy you."

"We found that our 'friends,' the For-

tune 500, were playing both sides," says Sen. Paul Laxalt (R-NV), a leader in national conservative politics since his election in 1974. "When you push water for them as long as we have," he said, "that's a little hard to swallow."

But the split between business and the right goes far beyond the campaign spending reports. Younger conservatives in-

Conservatives are mad at the managers of big business for supporting liberal Democrats in Congress.

creasingly see large corporations as willing participants in an overregulated society, from which business benefits but the average citizen does not.

Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R-UT), one of the most strident in his distrust of business, comes close to old-fashioned populist rhetoric in denouncing the leaders of American corporations. He sees business leaders as inheritors of great wealth, people with no financial stake in the operation of their business, free to indulge their

"guilt-ridden neuroses" by supporting federal policies that stifle market competition.

Against these people Hatch contrasts the "entrepreneur," the small farmer or businessman who wants to compete in a free market system but who is prevented from doing so by ruinous regulations of the federal bureaucracy.

All this should not be taken as a revolution in Republican attitudes toward business. By and large, conservatives are still far more sympathetic to the legislative goals of business than most liberal congressional Democrats. Industries seeking to stay regulated still find considerable support for this position on the Republican right.

It is no coincidence that most of the conservative members of Congress who talk angrily about big business are from small western states not particularly dependent on industry.

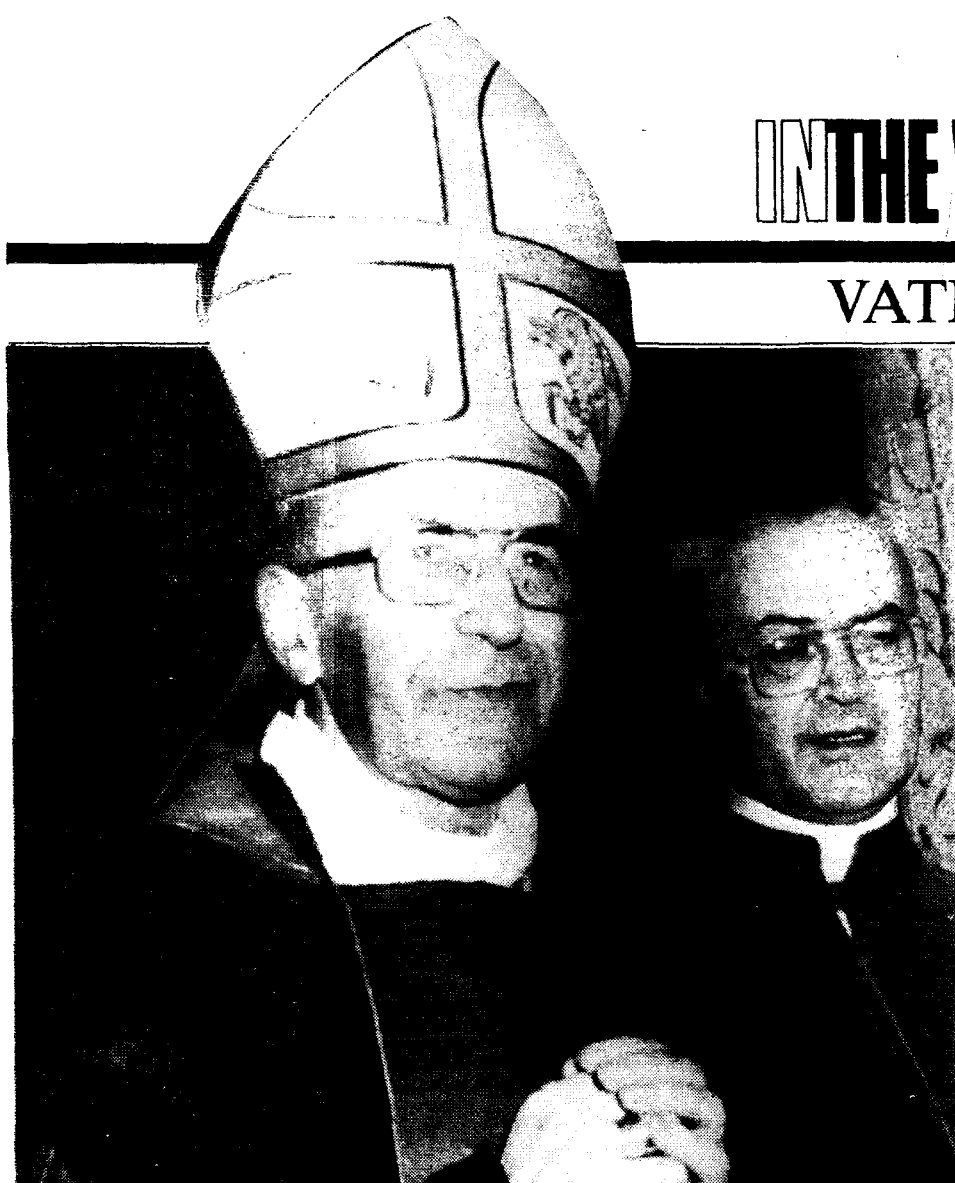
The end of the long association between the right and big business has led some conservatives to rethink their ideas of a model constituency—with serious implications for the future.

"Our natural constituency are the taxpayers and producers in the middle," Laxalt now says. "Not big business."

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IN THE WORLD

VATICAN



Pope John Paul, accompanied by Msgr. Virgilio Noe, leaves the Sistine Chapel after his speech to the cardinals on Aug. 27.

New pope tempers conservatism with moral compassion

He calls the poor 'church's jewels'

By Paul Schervish

ON THE WARM SATURDAY evening of Aug. 26, Albino Cardinal Luciani strode on to the central balcony of St. Peter's Basilica as the 263rd Roman Catholic Pontiff. The son of a socialist bricklayer, he had now become the spiritual father of hundreds of millions of Catholics who live with or face the prospect of socialism and communism. The 65-year-old Archbishop of Venice greeted the crowds and, using words reserved only to a Pope, imparted a papal blessing "urbi et orbi," "to the city of Rome and to the world."

The election of John Paul after only 25 hours of deliberation and four ballots was the consequence of extensive lobbying by the church's cardinals during the days prior to the opening of the official conclave. Hoping to avoid widening the splits within an already divided church and fearful of the specter of communism in Italy, the 111 cardinal electors decided on an Italian known to be neither an arch-conservative nor a liberal.

The word *pontiff* means bridge builder and by choosing to combine the names of his two predecessors, John XXIII and Paul VI, Pope John Paul I declared his intention to bridge the personal compassion of John and the intellectual and political rigor of Paul. While the world has generally cheered the ascendance of the "Smiling Pope" to the chair of St. Peter, more skeptical observers doubt whether the Pope's affable demeanor and reputation for work among the poor will be translated into deep-seated changes in church policy or moral teaching.

A church traditionalist.

From biographical sketches and from the Pope's own words in recent days we get a picture of a man with two, perhaps contra-

dictory sides. On the one hand, he is a team player, conservative theologically, and staunchly anti-communist. On the other hand, he is genuinely a man of the people, able to speak their language, and concerned for the poor. Since so much of what any modern Pope may do is tightly circumscribed by religious and bureaucratic constraints, the best way to determine whether the reign of a Pope can be turned toward progressive goals is to explore whether there are elements in the Pope's religious and political ideology that may conflict with the status quo and open him to further radicalization.

In the case of John Paul the test will be whether his attachment to church tradition and conservative politics will be counteracted by his hardline morality, which includes a defense of the poor. The question is whether John Paul will understand that his pastoral care for the poor bears less fruit to the extent it is entangled in the web of structural injustice.

In church matters, John Paul has held to, but seldom pushed beyond, the reforms of the Second Vatican Council. In the past he has expressed doubts that all religions merit equal liberty; and as Patriarch of Venice he opposed efforts to liberalize Italy's divorce and abortion laws. In his address to the consistory of cardinals in the Sistine Chapel after his election he insisted the church discipline must be preserved. Although he counseled Paul VI to permit the use of birth control pills as a means of contraception, he quickly rallied behind Paul when the latter chose to reject making any change in the church's teaching. It would be surprising to find John Paul reversing church policy on the ordination of women, priestly celibacy, or even the ban on artificial means of contraception. Almost guaranteeing this for the proximate future is John Paul's reappointment of all the top church officials whose terms automatically expired at the death of his predecessor.

Challenge of politics.

The head of the Catholic church, however, exerts influence beyond the individual lives of the faithful and is himself in-



Pope Paul VI shakes hands with Cardinal Albino Luciani, now Pope John Paul, in 1978 audience.

Church regains ground in Pope Paul's last years

By Jane Hilowitz

WHEN THE POPE PASSED away recently, one-third of Italy — the Italians who could afford it — were on vacation. Pope Paul VI's death occasioned no mass return for his funeral. For one thing, his passing had been expected, and some Italians feel his commemorative oration for Aldo Moro in the Basilica of San Giovanni presaged his own imminent end.

Vatican Radio and the state networks immediately dedicated all their programming to classical music, and the press, in a period of very slim pickings after the intense news of the vast months, had adequate chance to assess his contribution to the church and the world as a whole.

Pope Paul VI has received a mixed press here, but on balance a positive one.

fluenced by events in the world. As in the past, the church under John Paul can be expected to be inserted by choice and force of circumstance in bridging the difficult chasm between moral and spiritual consciousness and political practice.

Perhaps what may most challenge John Paul to act on his instincts on behalf of the poor rather than in response to his curial environment will be the pressure of socialist or communist revolution in Europe and the Third World. Whether John Paul then leads the church in a progressive or regressive role will depend much on whether his sense of morality and compassion for the poor can be coupled to a less reformist and hesitant political perspective. While there are reasons to doubt this may happen, other aspects of John Paul's life leave some room to hope.

Though known as a moderate within church circles, his past political stands may lead some to believe his warm manner merely covers an unchangeable regressive political stance. He has called for punitive action against priests who support Communist political views. He has declared it the moral duty of Italy's Catholics to vote for Christian Democratic candidates. He has at times opposed trade unionism, strikes, work stoppages, and the grass-roots movement of worker priests. Notions of class exploitation, class conflict, and imperialism remain foreign to his way of thinking.

Neither liberal nor conservative.

Still other aspects of his past may equally come to bear upon his reign in years to come. It is fortunate, of course, that John Paul is no arch-conservative. However, it is equally fortunate he is no liberal. He thinks first in moral terms, not those of the market. Hidden in every force that makes him a true religious conservative

As an individual, he is perceived as a man of cold intellect whose links to the faithful lacked personal warmth. Italy remembers him also, vividly, for intransigent positions regarding questions of crucial national importance—principally divorce and abortion. His fear of weakening the church's moral force led to a fearsome rigidity in issues that concerned sexuality, procreation and the family. The church hierarchy backed him in this conservatism, so that these problems are still very much alive here. For example, although there is a new law granting legal and free abortions, the church has encouraged Catholic doctors to plead conscientious objection and refuse to perform them. (IN THESE TIMES, Aug. 9.)

Visit with communist mayor.

Nevertheless, Paul VI's papal encyclical *Continued on page 11.*

is hopefully an equally strong potential for dissatisfaction with the materialism, individualism, militarism, and profiteering embedded in all levels of the world economy and daily taking their toll.

Some signs of this disaffection can already be observed in John Paul's instructions for a more simple installation. Also, upon becoming a bishop, he sold his wealth and stipulated that the money be used for work among the handicapped. Calling the poor the jewels of the church, he urged the priests of his diocese to sell their church's precious stones and employ the funds for the impoverished. Given these sensitivities and given the fact that the new Pontiff, as yet a novice on the international scene, will in his travels observe first hand the plight of the world's poor, it may not be naive to hope that he will begin to understand the structural sources of poverty, especially as they are pointed out to him by the politically astute bishops of the Third World.

Thus while John Paul will probably not undergo any profound political conversion that would make him an outspoken advocate of radical social and economic transformation, his deep distrust of contemporary morality coupled with his compassion for the poor may induce in him, as they sometimes did in Paul VI, at least a minimum of critical consciousness. Such a critical consciousness may not convince John Paul to throw either the weight of his office nor the resources of the church behind revolutionary movements; but it may draw him to a studied silence when he and the church become subtly invited by the enemies of the poor to condemn mass movements struggling for justice.

Paul G. Schervish is a Jesuit priest and a Ph.D. candidate in sociology at the University of Wisconsin.

THE SOVIETS

New constitution strengthens state rule

The recent trials of Soviet dissidents have focused attention on the question of constitutional rights and civil liberties in the Soviet Union. In a three-part series, of which this is the third part, Albert Resis, a specialist in Soviet affairs, analyzes the conflicts that surrounded the recently adopted Soviet Constitution.

By Albert Resis

The new constitution of the USSR continues the Brezhnev moderate-conservative policy of conciliating opposing wings of the Communist party. Emphasizing "continuity" to placate the neo-Stalinist authoritarians, the drafters also made concessions to party liberalizers. In practice, however, the constitution further centralizes the powers of the state and party; even though it broadens certain individual rights, it permits continued selective intimidation of non-conformists.

State monopoly communism.

The constitution proclaims that Soviet society's basic trend is the "further unfolding of socialist democracy." This trend includes "the ever-wider participation of citizens in the affairs of the state and of society" and "in the improvement of the state apparatus." But despite calls for "greater publicity and constant consideration for public opinion," political power is inexorably being concentrated in the central government even as the "developed socialist society" builds communism.

Although Soviet leaders claim they have attained the preconditions for communism—collective ownership of the means of production and the end of class rule, they tacitly reject Engel's famous dictum that the state "withers away" under communism. Instead, they regard the building of communism as the strengthening, not "withering away," of the state through increased "participation" of Soviet citizens in state and public affairs. Their view of "communist public self-government" requires the absorption of civil society by "the state of all the people." Soviet leaders envisage the "statification" of society rather than the "socialization" of the state, and they picture the communist future as a kind of "participatory bureaucracy" within what we may best describe as a system of "state monopoly communism."

This inversion of classical Marxist theory did not take place without a fight—which resulted in the defeat of the party-democrats. The draft constitution stated, for example, that "labor collectives participate in the management of enterprises and associations." This implied adoption in the USSR of the Yugoslav-type of "workers' self-management." But the final text reduced the role of workers' collectives to "participation" in "discussion" and "resolution" of decisions, not in "management."

Ubiquitous political centralization is, however, accompanied by some concessions to economic decentralization. The constitution extends the category of "socialist ownership" to property held by trade unions and other public organizations as well as to state property and collective farm-cooperative property. This could open the way for Soviet trade unions to enter the kinds of economic activities in which Scandinavian and Israeli trade unions engage.

Citizens are encouraged to organize co-operatives to supplement the work of state operated consumer-service enterprises (whose inadequacies are notorious). And in opposition to neo-Stalinist fundamentalists, the constitution expressly sanctions the allotment of small garden-plots to non-farmers as well as to kolkhoz and sovkhoz members, whose personal gardens supply one-quarter to one-third of the country's perishables.

Popular "participation" and political



In Riga, Latvia, accused rapist (far right) is put on trial before three Soviet judges, who are cross-examining witness with her back to the camera.

centralization are the keys to Soviet democracy. But political participation without access to relevant information and the right to contest for power is meaningless. In elections for the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and of the individual Republics, ballots list only one candidate for each seat. Every measure is passed "unanimously" by Soviet deputies, often without debate. "Debates" often resemble flights of tribal self-worship. No bill has been initiated by an individual deputy in decades, and the deputies have been powerless *vis-a-vis* the executive. The 1977 Constitution does, however, make some crucial concessions in this area to the party democrats.

The most encouraging of the constitutional reforms broaden the powers of the Soviets and of the People's deputies. The constitution now formalizes the existence of Standing Committees of the Soviets, and they, as well as investigative, inspection, or other types of committees, have the right to require officials to submit materials and documents to them.

People's Control Committees, consisting of deputies and workers, are empowered to monitor state and public operations. They may now request information from state agencies and officials, who are obliged to respond at a session of the Soviet. Although proposals to strengthen "parliamentary" immunity of deputies were rejected, these increased powers entrusted to Soviet deputies make progress towards some form of "Soviet parliamentarism" possible.

Treason not defined.

The constitution simultaneously expands certain individual rights—but more closely restricts their exercise. Restrictions take several forms. First, there is the general reservation: "The exercise of rights and liberties by citizens must not injure the interests of society and the state or the rights of other citizens." Second, freedoms of speech, press, assembly, and association must be exercised "in accordance with the goals of communist construction." Third, exercise of these rights and liberties is "inseparable" from the performance of duties, which include: the obligation to observe the law; to perform socially useful labor and observe labor discipline; to protect socialist property; to assist in maintenance of public order; and "to safeguard the interests of the Soviet state and to help strengthen its might and prestige."

Moreover, the 1977 constitution, unlike the old constitution, does not define "treason to the Homeland," simply calling it

"the gravest crime against the people." By failing to define treason the line dividing permissible criticism from "treason" is further blurred. Consequently, the knee-jerk accusation ("anti-Soviet!") Soviet bureaucrats hurl at their critics can easily shade into an accusation of treason (as

officials, assails lower-ranking laggards and deviationists or exposes serious economic malfunctions top officials deem ripe for reform. Such criticism is not affected by the new constitution. "Permissible" criticism is now constitutionally encouraged and protected. It is mainly criticism the citizen directs at local offi-

The constitution allows criticism of the execution of programs, but not of the programs themselves.

in the case of A. Shcharansky). A better way to inhibit freedom of criticism, short of mass terror, could scarcely be conceived.

The new constitution does provide a victimized citizen some legal protection. A citizen who believes his rights have been violated may seek redress in court. Citizens have the right to compensation for damages caused by illegal actions of state and public organizations and also by officials carried out during the performance of their duties.

Token protection is also provided for the first time to intellectual and cultural freedom: citizens "are guaranteed freedom of scientific, technical, and artistic creation,"—if exercised "in accordance with the goals of communist construction." Citizens are also guaranteed "inviolability" of person and of home. Frequently cited to demonstrate the superiority of Soviet democracy over American democracy is article 56: "the private lives of citizens and the confidentiality of correspondence, telephone conversations, and telegraph messages are protected by law." Moreover, the constitution considerably extends the social and economic rights of the citizen and adds a series of new rights: the right to "well-appointed housing" and the right to use cultural achievements of Soviet and world culture.

The permissible, impermissible and official.

The constitutional guarantees of economic and social rights contain much that is admirable. Still, most socialists will be appalled by the harsh restraints placed on Soviet citizens' right to speak out. For Soviet democracy in practice distinguishes between three types of criticism: official, permissible, and impermissible.

Official criticism, freely wielded by top

officials, assails lower-ranking laggards and deviationists or exposes serious economic malfunctions top officials deem ripe for reform. Such criticism is not affected by the new constitution. "Permissible" criticism is now constitutionally encouraged and protected. It is mainly criticism the citizen directs at local offi-

cials or agencies failing to implement decisions adopted at the top. Because such criticism provides a safety valve for the angry citizen and alerts top leaders to serious failings in the lower reaches of the system, it is sanctioned. "Impermissible" criticism is criticism from below that the authorities believe conflicts with "the goals of communist construction"; it is "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" when higher-ups believe it discredits the system, the ideology, or themselves. They alone decide what is "anti-Soviet" criticism and they have intentionally blurred the line separating it from "treason." Indeed, since the hazy, shifting line that separates "permissible" from "impermissible" criticism, and the latter from "treason," is so indefinite, the new constitution may further inhibit both types of criticism.

Soviet leaders assert that the new constitution will inspire workers throughout the world in their struggle for socialism. Many will admire the constitutional broadening of Soviet economic and social rights. Much of world opinion will sympathize with the Soviet commitment to peaceful coexistence coupled with support for Third World national liberation movements.

But socialists and non-socialists alike, especially in countries enjoying the hard-won civil liberties proclaimed in the great bourgeois revolutions, are bound to be repelled by the trammels Soviet leaders place on these liberties in the USSR.

Indeed, American socialists, while supporting all that is positive in Soviet socialism, also do well to protest the outrageous violations of civil liberty in the USSR, which belie the promise of socialist democracy, thus impairing the growth of socialism worldwide.

NICARAGUA

Sandinistas seek Somoza's overthrow

With the church supporting the armed guerillas, Somoza's hands were tied.

By Blase Bonpane

THE SEMANTICS OF NEWS REPORTING can be interesting and at times devastating. Some reports have called the invaders of Nicaragua's National Palace "terrorists." A strange term indeed for a force of 23 men and one woman who are welcomed, cheered, applauded, accompanied and honored by the vast majority of Nicaragua's citizens.

The incumbent government and the National Guard have been using methods of terror against the Nicaraguan opponents for over 40 years. That period of history appears to be over.

Such dramatic and brazen action as the occupation of the National Palace of Nicaragua would formerly have been stopped with force. But it is not easy to stop when the highest level of Nicaraguan church leadership physically imposes itself to insure safe passage.

Previously, Somoza had pillars of support called the "trinity": the church, private enterprise and the National Guard. Now he has only the National Guard and there are multiple signs of mutiny. On Aug. 28, Somoza forces arrested 80 National Guardsmen, charging a plot to overthrow the government.

Aside from the military struggle between the Sandinista Liberation Front (FSLN) and the National Guard, the following elements are visible in Nicaragua:

The Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN). Alfonso Robelo Callejas, 38-year-old MDN representative recently spoke in New York claiming that the Somoza dynasty would be replaced by "constitutional means" before the end of the year. Robelo, an industrialist, stated there were four or five members of the Nicaraguan congress, even members of the Liberal party of Somoza, who would be "acceptable to the National Guard." According to Robelo, an interim president chosen from this group would form a national unity government to finish Somoza's term and prepare for free elections. Robelo went on to insist that such a resolution would not include the FSLN.

The Broad Front of the Twelve. The Twelve are a group of prominent anti-Somoza Nicaraguans who were in exile (see IN THESE TIMES, Aug. 23). Because of their activities against the government they were convicted of various crimes in absentia. They announced their intention to return to their country, Nicaragua's high court overruled their convictions and they were received on July 5 in what was called Nicaragua's largest crowd (200,000). The Twelve are clearly and definitely in opposition to the program of Robelo and the MDN. It was precisely the Twelve's insistence that the Broad Front include the FSLN that led them to win the confidence of Nicaragua's masses.

Both the Broad Front of the Twelve and the FSLN believe a candidate acceptable to the National Guard would simply lead to business as usual and they are highly suspect that this is what the MDN wants.

The goals of the Broad Front of the Twelve are almost the same as the Minimal Plan of the FSLN. But there are some important differences. The Twelve do not include the nationalization of Nicaragua's banks and the FSLN does. The Twelve do not mention women's rights and the FSLN does. Regardless of these differences, the



An injured FSLN guerilla is loaded onto plane after successful palace occupation.

Broad Front of the Twelve is expected to yield to the Minimal Plan of the FSLN. The approach of the combined coalition can be categorized politically as democratic socialism.

The Minimal Plan of the FSLN is:

- Massive expropriation of all the property of the Somoza family. Such property will be placed into production for the benefit of all.
- Total liquidation of the corruption of the Somoza dynasty such as the enslavement of youth for prostitution, gambling, drug traffic, smuggling, embezzlements, evasion of taxes and bribes. The establishment of an honest system of public administration at the service of the people.
- The total purification of the National Guard, including the trial of those responsible for unjust imprisonments, tortures, rapes, robbery and assassination. An authentic national army will then be formed.

- Assurance of enforcement of all democratic guarantees including free organization of political movements and labor unions.

- Nationalization of all businesses that exploit natural resources such as minerals, lumber, seas and marshes.

- Urban and agrarian reform will begin primarily on the lands expropriated from the Somoza family. Rural unemployment will be eliminated and decent homes with good water will be made available to workers.

- Nationalization of the banks will take place with the guarantee that resources be used for national development and for the benefit of all social sectors, especially for those of low income.

- The creation of an efficient and modern system of health care assuring the prevention of disease and bringing sanitary conditions to all.

- The establishment of a massive and effective educational system to completely eliminate illiteracy and to assure primary and secondary education which is public, free and obligatory. The university will contribute directly to the technical, scientific, social and spiritual transformation of the Nicaraguan society.

- Nationalization and radical improvement of public transportation.

- A guarantee of women's rights.

- Minimum wage guarantees with working conditions adjusted to the needs of the workers.

The FSLN believes that any attempt to pacify the corrupt and declining National Guard of Nicaragua by selecting a candidate with their stamp of approval will lead to prolonged civil war.

Blase Bonpane is a Central American specialist and political science professor at California State University, Northridge.

Pope Paul recognized Communists

Continued from page 9.

Populorum progressio is an unusual document. Luca Pavolini, writing recently in *Rinascita*, praises the past Pope for "not eluding the problems posed him by a time of profound transformation." Pavolini identifies the innovatory nature of the encyclical in the fact that it explicitly links issues of hunger and unemployment, "in short the fundamental problems of modern history," with a discussion of capitalism and imperialism. Hunger and underdevelopment are not simply the products of the ill will of men.

Moreover, the encyclical touched specifically on the unequal exchange relations between Third World countries and the developed world, spoke critically of profit, monopoly and the use of capital. The result was a criticism of the church's role throughout the centuries of colonialism.

At the same time, Pavolini cites a certain timidity in the face of the other great agents of change in today's world—a timidity that leaves Paul VI's encyclical somewhat narrower in breadth compared to the great historic encyclical *Pacem in terris* for which John XXIII is remembered.

But there was in Paul VI's papacy, an awakening recognition of some agents of

change. Here in Rome, an oft-cited memory are the two New Year's visits the communist mayor of Rome, Giulio Carlo Argan, and his municipal council (two-thirds Communist and the rest Socialist) paid to the Vatican. Such visits would have been totally inconceivable under Pius XII; and John XXIII was simply not faced with them, as Rome did not have a left-wing town council during his papacy. Prior to the 1976 elections in Italy, the church admonished those Catholics who showed a marked preference for Communist electoral politics, but by the time of Paul VI's death the church had taken a slightly more tolerant position.

On a broader scale, Paul VI normalized relations with East European countries, signed an understanding with the Russian Orthodox Church, sponsored Vatican participation in the Helsinki Conference on human rights, and showed concern about the war in Vietnam and international peace. And he wrote a letter to the Red Brigades asking them on humanitarian grounds to spare the life of his friend Aldo Moro.

Decline and rise.

It may be that the Pope's anti-progressive position on moral questions was a genuine attempt to safeguard what he saw as the declining prestige of the empire over which he ruled. In the early '70s there was a palpable sense that the church was losing its grip, that young people no longer held faith with it, that traditional ecclesiastical structures were in crisis. It may be, too, that moral rigidity was seen as a way of controlling adherents at a time of sharp ascendancy of the Communist party and pluralist politics in general.

Whatever the explanation, the moral rigidity, while presenting individual faith-

ful with serious problems, and the Italian nation with moral/political dilemmas, seems not to have diminished the prestige of the church. In fact, the church seems to have regained in the last two years much of its lost terrain, so that Paul VI may have left it not too much weaker than he found it. There are several grass-roots Catholic movements into which young people have flocked, and in the scholastic elections last year, lists headed by Catholic candidates did better than the others.

Several assemblies, especially the one called "Evangelization and Human Promotion," seem to have permitted a cultural rebuilding that brings with it a new mobilization of energy and, in some spheres, a new orthodoxy. How long these trends will last, or how profound they are, remains to be seen.

The new Pope will have to concern himself with the regularization of church-state relations. The Vatican has been negotiating a new Concordat with the Italian state for the last ten years, and the Senate was supposed to vote on the proposals next month. Now, everything may be negotiated anew.

What is in question is religious instruction in the schools. As the present proposal has it, a child can decline to take religious instruction, which is offered in the lower schools. The Concordat will also take up church and civil marriages and tax distinctions between various kinds of church societies and organizations. None of this means, obviously, a neat separation between church and state. It looks more like a gradual "unsticking." The "sticking" was done back in 1931, with Mussolini's church-state Concordat.

Jane Hilowitz writes on Italian politics for IN THESE TIMES.

Time for an American left

If you're not part of the system you can't change it

An interview with G. William Domhoff by Derek Shearer

G. William Domhoff is the author of *Who Rules America?*, *The Higher Circles*, *Fat Cats and Democrats* and, most recently, *Who Governs the Cities?* He teaches sociology at the University of California, Santa Cruz and has been active in the Campaign for Economic Democracy.

A few years ago you wrote a book called *FAT CATS AND DEMOCRATS* that suggested that both the Republican and the Democratic Parties were controlled by the ruling elite. Have you changed your mind?

I haven't changed my mind about the Democratic Party, but I've changed my mind about the book. When I wrote it, I came within an inch of putting in a final chapter in which I would've said, now, after saying that the Fat Cats control the Democrats as well as the Republicans, strange as it may sound, I suggest that leftists should be Democrats.

Then I was going to go into what I later advocated in *Ramparts*, that the left should challenge ideologically within the Democratic Party primaries on programs that spell out the assumptions of economic democracy. But I left that out, which was the biggest mistake of the book.

That book and other similar arguments that people on the left made about the Democratic Party led many activists in the '60s to say that the two parties were the same, they were both controlled by Big Business, and that there had to be a third party. Do you agree that the left should build its own third party?

No, that would be futile, assuming we think of a party in the American sense of one that contests within the electoral arena. In the late '60s, I believed third party arguments. By 1972, when *Fat Cats and Democrats* appeared, I no longer did.

I came to believe that even though the Republican and Democratic Parties are coalitions led by parts of the ruling class, leftists should struggle within the Democratic Party. The struggle for economic democracy is ideological, meaning that the liberal ideology that is all pervasive in the U.S. among both liberals and conservatives has to be challenged in a fundamental way. The place to make that challenge is the Democratic Party because the rules of our electoral system almost preclude a third party. They make remote the likelihood of a third party growing slowly. A vote for a third party is a vote for your worst enemy. It sells out the short-run interests of working people. It sets liberals against radicals to the benefit of conservatives.

What kind of rules are you talking about?

Basically, about two sets of rules. One is the presidential system, as opposed to a parliamentary system. In the presidential system the winner takes all. The person who gets the plurality of votes wins, and nobody else gets anything. That leads finally to two candidates fighting it out for this all-important post.

In a parliamentary system, the prime minister is selected by a coalition of parties in parliament after the election.



Bill Domhoff when he was batboy for the Cleveland Indians in 1952.

Stop warming the bench and start playing ball, Domhoff tells socialists. You can't win from the dugout.

Second, we elect people from geographic districts, not by proportional representation. If you get the plurality of votes in your district, you go to the legislature and the loser gets nothing.

The presidential system and the single member district system are both strong forces towards a two-party system. If you have a parliamentary system with proportional representation, you're likely to have four or five or more political parties. All this is an old story to political scientists, but not to leftists who have never taken the structure of government seriously.

Would you agree with critics of the new left that the American party system is not only structured in a way that excludes the possibility of third parties winning representation, but that the party system is more open than those of other countries?

What makes it true is the primaries. If we look at the Progressive Era, we find it was the rigidity of the two-party system that led to our primaries, which are a unique adaptation to the rules that unwittingly created the two-party system. Primaries have made the system much more open. This hasn't been recognized enough by leftists.

The full significance of this hasn't been drawn, partly because it wasn't until after WWII, really until the '60s, that primaries became very important. Estes Kefauver was the first person in recent history to demonstrate their usefulness to insurgents. Then Eugene McCarthy demonstrated it. That's when I started to think about the Democratic Party, to go back and learn about structure, to take seriously various arguments that had been advanced by mainstream political scientists. Because McCarthy was able to go into that primary in New Hampshire and turn it into a referendum on the war. When he announced I was cynical. I didn't think it was a good idea. By the end of McCarthy's campaign, I was impressed by how far he went with so little, whereas many of the people who had been involved with him from the start were now turned off. It was a paradoxical

changing of positions.

People said, oh the system doesn't work, and I thought, my God, how far it went with so little planning, with so little program, and such a late start.

Since then there have been more primaries that have made it easier to challenge ideologically.

Why do you think so few leftists initially agreed with you? Why has it taken so long for '60s activists to agree with this strategy?

Lots of reasons. I don't know how much weight to give each. On one level, a theoretical level, the whole left paradigm, particularly "Marxism," doesn't give much role to electoral politics, and doesn't attach much importance to the particular structure of government. So, the Democrat argument is regarded as superficial by our "heavy" thinkers on the left. I won't name names.

Intimately related to that is the fact that part of this argument had been put forth by mainstreamers, and mainstreamers, by definition, are wrong and apologists. That kind of mentality is a potent factor on the left—not being able to pick and choose and sort out among what mainstream social scientists say and try to use what is useful.

Also the Democratic Party has been controlled by Southern Democrats and by urban machine Democrats. It was not until the '60s that there was much chance of having an impact within the party. So the history of trying to work within the Democratic Party, except in California, which hadn't been a machine state, had been dreary.

On another level, leftists frequently say, "But the Democrats are immoral. The Democrats sell out. The Democrats make compromises." This response impressed upon me the strong moralistic streak in leftists that made it hard for them to be involved with anything that was in any way impure. And, God knows, the Democratic Party is impure. It's a mixture of all kinds of elements.

Once I presented my argument to a convention of Peace and Freedom Party people in northern California. They said to me, "But the Democrats are corrupt." This was right after it had been revealed that some Peace and Freedom Party candidates had received money from Republicans in California, because Republicans had hoped that the Peace and Freedom candidates would take enough votes away to defeat Democrats. It seemed to me that this was also corrupt. But beyond that trifle, the very fact that Republicans had given money to Peace and Freedom was the most wonderful and obvious evidence for the validity of my argument.

What we don't want is to be divided from liberals. We're never going to get into very much of a coalition with conservatives. They're not likely to be the first people we convince. We're more likely to gain new adherents from people who are left liberals and then moderate liberals and so on.

I also think there is a fear of cooptation that people have, that somehow some magical invisible strands of cooptation will wrap around us, so we have to keep our distance. Somehow these liberal Democrats are so seductive, so persuasive, that if we get around them we'll soon just relapse into their views.

Isn't that funny? That's how liberal Democrats, as well as conservatives, used to view Communists. If you have them around, they're so tricky and so seductive that they'll take you in and turn you into dupes.

That's right. One of the things that I liked about the early new left style was the attitude toward both Communist and liberals: "Fine, keep them around, they might learn something."

In the early new left, there was a clear sense of self and purpose, of what had to be done, of where to carve out your niche. There's no question that when that sense of purpose and direction gets lost, people start to have these fantasies about the contagion of others.

This relates to the point of how we should challenge within the Democratic Party. It does no good to put forward candidates if we do not have a coherent program based upon a set of principles that we want to advance. Without that, there is the danger of cooptation—meaning, we don't have anything better to do. We might as well go along with the liberals because we don't know what we're doing anyhow—that's "cooptation."

You were involved in the Tom Hayden for Senate race as a consultant. You advised the campaign, you helped to write part of the long, programmatic statement "Make the Future Ours," which was printed up and distributed around the state. How would you evaluate the successes and failures of Hayden's running for the Senate in the Democratic Party?

First and most important, it was a tremendous vindication of the Democratic Party strategy. Nobody expected Hayden to get 37 percent of the Democratic Party vote in the primary against an incumbent Senator. That was stunning to many people on the left who were, at the beginning, either skeptical or cynical about the campaign.

No leftist in the electoral arena has done as well since Upton Sinclair, the most renowned socialist of the '30s, who ran as a Democrat for Governor of California in 1934 and won the primary and went on to get 37 or 38 percent of the vote in the general election. It's been a long time since leftists have been able to register support for their programs in the electoral arena. And in both cases where there was a large vote, Hayden and Sinclair, it was in the Democratic Party primary.

The debate from this point on should be about the nature of the program that's put forward by leftists when they run in Democratic primaries. My view is that we have to emphasize our program for economic democracy in terms of public ownership and control, and worker control, of the largest banks and corporations. That has to be the starting point of the platform. It has to explain how economic democracy would operate at these commanding heights of the economy.

From there, the platform should go on to talk about specific reforms in the welfare or health systems. It could then talk about whether it's endorsing specific issues and initiatives that various groups are putting forward.

I had mild disagreements with Hayden's program, but those are relatively minor.

It appears that being leftwing Democrats is being adopted by more and more activists across the country. At the same time, there are articles—for example the cover of NEWSWEEK recently which said, "Is America Moving to the Right?" Do you think the country as a whole is moving to the left or to the right?

I don't know, and I doubt if any of these magazines really know. It depends on what questions you ask. If you ask people to label themselves liberal or conservative, many people will label themselves conservative. On the other hand, as *Newsweek* pointed out, a lot of these people are for New Dealish kinds of programs, and kinds of government interven-

tion, even though in the abstract they'll be against Big Government.

A lot of the people who are for New Dealish economic reforms, or might even favor economic democracy, are still to be convinced about gay rights, about abortion, about marijuana reform. There are several different types of issues, and it depends which ones you tap into, which answers you get, liberal or conservative. Very few people subscribe to a left position generally—but then I don't think there are more than 15 or 20 percent who really subscribe to a right-wing view. Most Americans remain mixed in their ideology.

How should the left relate to Jimmy Carter? Should there be a Dump Carter movement in 1980, and, if so, what role should the left play in that?

I don't think there should be a Dump Carter movement. That will just replace one Jimmy Carter with another.

Is Jerry Brown another Jimmy Carter?

eral candidates oppose Jimmy Carter in key primaries on that platform. Let's make it a referendum not on Jimmy Carter's personality or managerial skills, but on the public ownership and control of the top thousand corporations.

Such a presidential referendum would add a new dimension to the American political debate. It's the place to put public ownership on the agenda. If we want to put economic democracy on the agenda for the 1980s, this is the place to do it. The presidency is the arena of national debate. It is the office that looks at the system as a whole, and coordinates the system as a whole.

Who would have the stature on the left or is it necessary to have the stature to run against Carter? Would it be one person or a series of people in each state?

That should be up for discussion. It might be many different people so that the platform is emphasized and not the personality. Second, because some peo-

William Nehez/The Cleveland News



Domhoff, 25 years later, and a sociology professor at the University of California, Santa Cruz.

There should be a left presence in the '80 presidential primaries. Let's do what Upton Sinclair did in 1934.

He's the last thing we need, but he and Carter are better than a Republican. They open a dialogue to the left. And they put people from the liberal coalition into positions where they can do useful things.

There should be a left presence in 1980 in the presidential primaries. We should do in 1980 what Gene McCarthy did in 1968 and what Upton Sinclair did in 1934. We should turn the primaries of 1980 into a referendum on the economy. In the next two years, the American left should develop a comprehensive program of economic democracy. That program should then be carried to various community activists and trade unionists to see what they think of the program, what they can support, what they might modify. When most people have given their feedback into the program, that program should be taken to a variety of leftists and they should be asked to run on this platform, to represent this platform against Jimmy Carter.

I would love to see either one or sev-

ple have name recognition in some states and not others, and that gives them the minimal presence needed to run.

Whether it's one person or several, the challenge should be in a few carefully chosen states, like Massachusetts, Michigan and Wisconsin, and maybe even Georgia and one or two other Southern states if someone like Julian Bond would carry the banner down there. I certainly wouldn't go into places like New Hampshire, where the ground isn't fertile, just because that is the traditional place for candidates to start.

When I first tried to visualize such a campaign, I felt that 5 to 10 percent of the votes in each primary would be useful in establishing a left presence. Such a vote also would have given economic democrats a voting presence at the convention. But Carter and his political managers have since changed the rules so you have to get a higher percentage of the vote before you get any delegates. Maybe they saw us and some others coming. In any

case, the new rules make it harder to get a tangible victory out of a minority vote.

Let's talk for a minute about the content of that program.

I define economic democracy in terms of people controlling economic decisions the same way they control political decisions in theory. Big corporations are public entities. The decisions about where they invest, what they invest in, how much, should be the decisions of publicly elected people. The fruits of those investments should be distributed more equitably to all the people. Workers should have a real voice in the decisions. Economic democracy to me is a form of democratic socialism.

Once we say that, then we get to what's really the hard part: how do you embody this in programs? What does it mean to run General Motors or General Electric or the Bank of America in a democratic fashion? Is it different from one industry to another? Do some industries have to be national and some regional? Do you have to break them into smaller units? I think those are the questions to be debated and discussed.

Let's assume that your strategy is followed. What would be the consequences of following your advice?

We would gain a small foothold in the system. We'd elect a few people who could use their offices as platforms. We'd help effect a few reforms. Most of all, we would develop the ideological acceptance which would predispose people to turn left if one of those unforeseeable crises comes along again.

What are examples from American history?

The '30s. Here in the face of the most horrendous depression, the kind of depression old leftists rightly predicted would come to unregulated capitalism, we did not get the ultimate confrontation, we did not get the big change, instead we got Keynesian kinds of things and the New Deal. The President and the liberal Democrats were able to appeal right over the heads of leftists to the working class and keep the left embarrassingly isolated except when it worked on essentially liberal tasks, and very courageously, like creating the unions. The '60s was an unexpected opportunity. The Civil Rights movement which was created by SNCC New Leftists and the anti-war movement were enormous kinds of opportunities for a left. People functioned very well and courageously in stopping a war that needed to be stopped, and bringing some measure of civil rights and social justice—but they were not able to bring the even greater changes. With a better program and strategy, more equality and democracy could have been won in the '30s and '60s.

I don't know what the particular conflict or crisis that comes up in five or ten or 15 years will be, whether it will be one of the economic crises that one or another left economist is claiming is right over the horizon, whether it will be a political crisis or a cultural crisis, whether it would involve American intervention in a war of liberation. But you can count on crisis to create your politics. The politics has to be there to react to the crisis.

During the '60s, there was the feeling, as Eldridge Cleaver expressed it, that if you're not part of the solution, then you're part of the problem. Does this sort of formulation apply for the 1980s?

I disagreed at the time, and I disagree now. I had suggested "if you're not part of the problem, you're a potential friend of ours," was the proper attitude. As far as in and out of the system, we have to be both inside and outside in our activity. Electoral activity without community organizing is not meaningful. Community organizing without electoral activity will not get you very far. The sad thing about the left is that it has seen too many activities as mutually exclusive when they actually complement each other. For example, mass demonstrations and other activities outside the electoral arena made possible the kind of campaign that Gene McCarthy conducted. That campaign in turn reached people we hadn't been able to reach. But at the time leftists tended to take an either/or attitude.

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial



Public workers: pride and prejudice

The Postal Service labor dispute will be settled by negotiation, with binding arbitration if necessary, thereby averting a general strike (though perhaps not wildcats). The specific issues in the conflict—wages chasing after inflation, speed-up, layoffs, safety, benefits (see David Moberg's story, p. 3)—are common to most labor disputes.

But behind the specific grievances lie two broader issues, the neglect of which tightens the vicious circle of unjust treatment of public workers and the deterioration of public services it provokes.

The two issues are whether public employment is less important or less worthy than private employment, and whether public workers are second class citizens.

The tendency in a capitalist society like ours is to glorify private and demean public employment. The invidious distinction has nothing to do with the facts of modern life, but is a matter of social prejudice tending to sustain the supremacy of business over the society as a whole. But in modern industrialized society, where labor has shifted massively from goods production to services, and where public services are increasingly essential to social well-being, such a prejudice is irrational.

About 80 percent of the American labor force is currently employed in services. One out of five service workers are publicly employed (80 percent of these by state and local government). Public services—from delivering the mail to education, health care, sanitation, mass transit, recreation, and physical protection—are as essential to modern society as any in the private sector, and more so than many private sector pursuits. Is education less noble than advertising? Is delivering the mail—and facilitating an informed citizenry—less essential than delivering a Big Mac?

Public workers' inefficiency, apathy, and antipathy to the people they serve are a big factor in the deterioration of public services. But they go hand in hand with the demoralization that comes from the incessant demeaning of public employment by business propaganda and pro-capitalist politicians.

Pride in their work by public employees, and public respect for it, are the condition for better performance of that work. But that is impossible without public recognition of the essential role of public services in modern society and of the inherently greater dignity of serving

people without pursuing private profit. A view of public employment free of capitalist prejudice would also accentuate the obvious: Close to 20 percent of a nation's workers cannot be consigned to second class status without resorting to a new version of involuntary servitude and undermining democratic citizenship.

Denying public employees the right to genuine unions and collective bargaining, including the right to strike, only insures their subjection to irresponsible treatment by "management," i.e., government officials. It all but guarantees worker demoralization, protracted labor disputes and frequent disruptions of public services.

Good wages and working conditions are no less the right of public than of private employees. Neither are attainable without the strike weapon to keep management honest—and without the public commitment to make the social investment that the essential role of public services warrants.

The right of public workers to strike is as valid for a socialist as for a capitalist society: Under socialism, after all, most workers will be in the public sector.

The rights of public employees, and the importance and dignity of public services, are central issues in countering corporate power and in forging principles suited to a socialist democracy.

D.C. voting rights long overdue

The House of Representatives (last March) and the Senate (Aug. 22) passed and sent to the states for ratification a constitutional amendment to give the people of the District of Columbia voting rights they are now denied.

In 1970, Congress gave the district a non-voting delegate to the House, but left it subject to taxation without representation. (District residents paid \$1.4 billion in federal taxes in fiscal 1977, more than paid by residents of 11 states.)

The 23rd Amendment allowed district residents to vote for president, but limited their representation in the electoral college to that of the least populous state—though the district's population of 700,000 exceeds that of seven other states—South Dakota, North Dakota, Nevada, Delaware, Vermont, Alaska and Wyoming.

In 1973, Congress granted the district home rule, the right to elect its own city council and mayor and increased powers

of self-governance.

The proposed constitutional amendment would repeal the 23rd Amendment and treat the district as a state for purposes of representation in the House, Senate and electoral college, and for participation in presidential elections and ratification of constitutional amendments.

The Constitution originally provided for representation in Congress and the electoral college exclusively by states. The district is not a state; hence the necessity for the amendment. It is a good solution, long overdue.

As about 75 percent of the district's population is black, it is expected that its two Senators and its representation in the House will be black. Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-MA), the amendment's main sponsor in the Senate, warned against opponents' exploitation of the "four toos"—"fear that senators from the District... may be too liberal, too urban, too black

or too Democratic." But conservative Republicans, including Howard Baker (Tenn.), Barry Goldwater (Ariz.), Robert Dole (Kan.) and Strom Thurmond (S.C.), joined in voting for the amendment, aware as they were of the importance of the black vote nationally and within the states. The racist palaver directed against home rule by such politicians as these but five years ago was left to denizens of the far right and constitutional literalism.

Now every effort should be made to achieve ratification by the required 38 states—in far less than the seven years allowed. Justice to the people of the district demands quick ratification. Beyond that, the minuscule presence of blacks, women, and working people in Congress has made it far from the true representative of the people that it ought to be in a democracy. The proposed amendment is a small—though important—step in the right direction.

Letters

A beginning?

I APPLAUD THE GROWING EVIDENCE of intelligence in the editorial policy of *IN THESE TIMES*.

Ignoring the predictable howls of our atheist comrades, you have broken out of your long silence on the subject with an excellent set of articles on "The Left Hand of God."

I assume this follows from your recognition that any poll we take will show that the great majority of Americans are "religious" people, however we may define that term, and that any suspicion that socialism retains the aggressive atheism of the Marxist tradition will doom us to a depressing series of continuing defeats.

I assume it also follows from your recognition that there is a reservoir of revolutionary power within the Judeo-Christian tradition, starting with the Hebrew prophets, continuing with Jesus' warning that those who refuse to feed the hungry and clothe the naked will go straight to hell, and right on up to the present and the rapid growth of socialist sympathies among religious Americans.

The second indication of your intelligence is your editorial, backed up by Jack Clark's column, highlighting that we cannot permit socialism to be confused with dictatorship or anything else at all except a decent regard for democratic process and human rights.

Who knows, at this rate you may begin to show us how to build a political base among American workers that will actually win elections.

—John Cort
Editor, *Religious Socialism*
Nehant, Mass.

Christian witness

THANK YOU FOR THE SPECIAL feature on Christian witness (*ITT*, Aug. 2). As a Christian for over 20 years I have been concerned with the false dichotomy between spiritual and social liberation—a view promoted as much by the left as by the right-wing influences in the church. While I was familiar with most of the issues and individuals covered in your feature from articles in *Sojourners* and *Radix*, I was pleased to see a recognition of the radical and subversive nature of the gospel presented in *IN THESE TIMES*.

—Jay Baggett
Goleta, Calif.

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Money!

IN ROHNERT PARK, WHERE I live, busing school children has been discontinued as a result of Proposition 13. Among the many other hazards, children, many of them tiny tots, must cross Highway 101, and shortly it will be dark or semi-dark when children go to school. Parents are up in arms! Two hundred of them have already signed a petition stating, "No buses, No children!"

Think of it, here we are, the most developed land in the entire world, faced with this symptomatic problem and no answer in sight. Is this symptomatic problem necessary? We would all, I feel sure, like to see this problem resolved without the sacrifices that are currently looming. So what is lacking for a solution? The buses are available and the people to operate them are available. Only money is lacking.

What about a design of social operation in which there is no money? "Technocracy" with its Technological Social Design is such an operation. The design blueprints a social operation without any type of money; also without businessmen, merchants, industrialists, bankers, lawyers, politicians, etc. In this "Technocracy's" design, production and distribution are based on an "energy-cost-account-system," not on money!

To understand a viable solution to this and all of our problems at large, citizens should take it upon themselves to check out the concepts of "Technocracy" and determine their validity.

—John Taube
Rohnert Park, Calif.

Detroit socialists

THANKS FOR JOHN JUDIS' coverage of socialist politics in Michigan (*ITT*, Aug. 16). Many socialists in Detroit felt that the Ferency and Baker campaigns were important steps forward.

Since I live in the district where Baker ran, I want to comment on that campaign. The election showed:

- that an attractive and committed socialist or communist can be elected without hiding his or her politics;
- that the UAW, Democratic Party, and Mayor Young cannot guarantee victory over a well-managed campaign; Baker beat their candidates after seeking their endorsements;
- that the Black Slate is not very powerful after all. I shared Judis' impression that it was, during the campaign and on election day. They had lots of money and people. But they did not deliver votes. They endorsed at least six favorites; only one won. And they badly compromised themselves by selling their U.S. Senate endorsement to newspaper heir/millionaire Phil Power over liberals like Carl Levin.

Regarding accountability. No one will be more accountable than an overt socialist. Everyone will be gunning for him or her. Moreover, the strong coalition Baker's campaign developed requires performance for continued support. Black Slate's Barbara Martin, of all people, should not raise this issue: two years ago she endorsed an incumbent who for years had been accountable to no one except banking interests and the old Democratic Party power structure.

Participating in the election process has helped to move Baker and CLP to a more down-to-earth socialist politics. I'm not alone in hoping that serious commitment to the electoral arena will help to overcome the bitter split in the Detroit left of the early '70s.

—Charles Rooney
Detroit, Mich.

In spite of or because?

KAREN MOSHEWITZ (*ITT*, AUG. 23) describes herself as a "socialist atheist feminist." She then proceeds to demonstrate her right to such a description by launching a series of extreme

charges against Christians, particularly Catholic Christians, and against religious people in general. The charges are made with vehemence. Doubtless she feels deeply about them. However, Moshewitz fails to substantiate her charges. Either she is ignorant of the facts or fails to interpret them correctly.

Take her charge that "Martin Luther King and Cesar Chavez were leaders and in the forefront of progressive movements not because of their religion but in spite of it." The facts are:

Martin Luther King and Cesar Chavez based their lives and their work on the command of Christ, "Love one another as I have loved you," and "This is the second commandment, that you love your neighbor as yourself."

Both men were supported in their efforts by thousands of co-religionists and church officials, many of whom, including priests and nuns, were jailed because of this support. Religion is totalitarian only in the sense that it continues to repeat the words of Christ, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and soul and mind and strength."

Opinions differ, as they must always differ, regarding ways in which one can best manifest this love of God and of neighbor, but surely even an atheist must acknowledge that unless we all strive to keep these two commandments nothing else we strive to achieve in life will be of any avail for the welfare of the human race. My best wishes to Moshewitz in her efforts to "love her neighbor as herself."

—Agnes Ducey
Chicago

Great idea, but...

THE LETTERS COLUMN RECENTLY makes it plain that your recent special section on religion (*ITT*, Aug. 2) touches a sore spot with many left readers.

In my own view, the idea of such a section was extremely valuable, although in execution it suffered from too much preaching and not enough journalism. My own experience working politically in the South over the last dozen years has driven in repeatedly how much religious institutions pervade the community life of working people down here.

Whether for progressive or reactionary ends—Martin Luther King or Anita Bryant—one cannot escape the church, which is one of the first institutions to which people look for space to deal with the problems affecting them. It would have been impossible to imagine the civil rights movement of the '60s without the free space and moral fervor associated with the black church.

Like many on the left, I myself became a radical out of Christian—in my case Catholic—social activism, shedding my religion somewhere along the way. I would not want to try to go back to the church. But one of the problems we have created has been to cut ourselves off from progressives working within the church.

I hope you will have regular coverage within *ITT* of progressive movements in the religious community. It would be another step to making *ITT* a newspaper that is valuable to more than the already-convinced socialists.

—Bob McMahon
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Kucinich and racism

ITT GENERALLY PROVIDES THE analysis and ideological depth lacking in the daily press and weekly magazine reportage of events. The story on the Kucinich recall election (Aug. 23), however, failed in the one area a critical socialist journal must be strongest. While Dan Marshall noted Kucinich's problems with Cleveland's black constituency, he did not discuss reports carried in the national press (e.g., *Los Angeles Times* and *Time* magazine) that Kucinich's supporters had distributed pictures of black city council president George Forbes in white neighborhoods, saying that he would be the next mayor if Kucinich was recalled.

Before awarding the mantle of "Unique progressive politician" to Kucinich, Marshall should have investigated this aspect of the campaign and reported Kucinich's response to this racist appeal by some of his supporters. *ITT* owes its readers full reportage of candidates and politicians' strengths and shortcomings and a thorough scrutiny of their electoral organizations and campaign tactics.

—Larry S. Cepclair
Los Angeles

When does history begin, II?

IN MY LETTER TO *ITT* (JULY 12) I stated, "How far back can one go to correct the mistakes of history without creating new injustices that are more monstrous than those we have inherited?"

Now Samuel Michelson (*ITT*, Aug. 9) argues that the Romans dispersed the Jews from the ancient state of Israel in 70 A.D., but this did not extinguish the claim of the Jews to their ancient homeland. I presume that Michelson feels that the 60 years of turmoil in the Middle East and the modern diaspora of the Palestinians is justified to correct a mistake of history some 1900 years ago.

But why stop at 70 A.D.? A mistake of history occurred some 1400 to 1200 years B.C. (3400 years ago). According to the Book of Joshua, the Jews annihilated the Canaanites and the Hittites and the other peoples of Palestine in order to establish ancient Israel. "They utterly destroyed all in the city, both men and women, young and old, sheep and oxen, and asses, with the edge of the sword." Is it possible that the Canaanites were the progenitors of the modern Palestinian and that this mistake of history must be corrected?

One should seek justice, but an obstinate demand that all of the mistakes of history be corrected serves neither the cause of justice nor the interests of the U.S. And it does not promote world peace.

—D.B. Lawrence
Weaverville N.C.

Traven's "Rosa Blanca"

THE RECENT REVIEWS OF BOOKS about—however tangentially—B. Traven struck me as less critical than they should have been. In this reader's opinion, Judy Stone's book is more of a "treatment" of a book than a book itself; it's a hodge-podge of material she gathered in interviews and research, with some (pirated?) excerpts from Traven's own work at the end.

Raskin's novel, while playing off "Kenny Love" and his friends against the Traven myth, never proved that Love was anything more than a fugitive—or are all fugitives revolutionaries? In this respect, for all of its tough-guy posturing, it is a sentimental rendering of "underground" life today.

But the reference to Gabriel Figueroa's relatively unknown feature-length film based on Traven's *Rosa Blanca*, rather than quibbles with the reviewers, prompts me to write. The Mexican government did suppress the film when it was completed. But pressure from Traven's widow on the office of the President (then Echeverria) got the picture released in Mexico. It is now available for distribution in this country. Figueroa is, in fact, extremely interested in having a North American premiere, and has authorized me to put in contact with him any distributors who care to explore the matter further. (Write to me c/o *ITT*.)

—Alan Chouse
Knoxville, Tenn.

Editor's note: Please keep letters under 250 words. Otherwise we must make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, please type and double-space letter, or at least write clearly and with wide margins. Letters must be signed, with a return address. We will withhold your name or use a pseudonym if you wish, but we will not print unsigned letters or those without addresses.

William A. Williams

Brzezinski pushes cold war in the name of human rights



We on the socialist left have not said very much worth listening to about President Carter's crusade for human rights. I suggest that this weakness has three causes. First, there is more than a bit of crusader in many American socialists, and that inhibits them from a critical analysis of one of their own kind. Second, we have not developed a candid and persuasive position on human rights that speaks to the issue in the era of late capitalism and the various revolutions in Russia, China, Cuba and elsewhere. Third, we have not done enough serious homework on the Carter administration. Here I want to concentrate on the second and third issues.

I
Let me begin with these propositions about human rights.

A) Just as an anti-medieval or anti-mercantilist revolution cannot be made without subverting those kinds of community, neither can a revolution against corporate capitalism be carried through without destroying the profit-and-consumer oriented individualism that is at the center of our social system. It is elementary: if a revolution does not replace the existing matrix of social values, then it is not a revolution.

B) Given such a revolution, there is of necessity an interim period during which old conceptions and definitions of freedom will give way to a new social discipline. This, too, is obvious: nobody can shovel the sidewalk without changing the color of the snow.

C) Still and all, if a revolution is to honor its basic truth, and thereby legitimize itself, then it must evolve and honor in practice a new moral system grounded in an alternative value system. Thus the conception of human rights under capitalism (even in its mercantilist era) was fundamentally different than the idea and practice of community rights in pre-capitalist societies. And it is disingenuous to argue that capitalism has not honored its commitment to marketplace individualism. Indeed, that is precisely the problem: in 1978 we bask in the freedom of having few consequential community

values or democratic institutions to realize those values.

II

We must next acknowledge that no socialist revolution has devised and honored in practice a new value system based on a modern adaptation of the idea and ideal of community. One can argue with considerable force that some aspects of Soviet, Chinese, and Cuban society realize parts of such a post-capitalist conception of human rights within a community. They assert and honor, in varying degrees, the human rights to clothing, food, shelter, health care and education that go far beyond the concept of human rights in classic (or modern) capitalism. And, again with different kinds of success, they do so within a community orientation and milieu.

But none of them has yet effectively institutionalized the individual's right to routine and consequential participation in the process of building a new way of life. It is wholly legitimate to note and comment on that failure. It is even more important to face the central problem of developing an American socialist program that will involve the individual in the decision-making process. That issue raises vital questions about the inter-relationships between such fundamental matters as size, scale, resources, and endless production for ever more consumerism. Imaginative American thinking on how to assure the individual a meaningful share in the on-going dialogue about building and improving a socialist community might do more to extend this human right in other countries than all the outraged rhetoric of the past and the future.

III

It seems to be unwise, therefore, to allow a socialist critique of the lack of participatory democracy in other countries to be co-opted by liberal and conservative groups. Our deep concern is simply distorted by those people to advance their own quite different purposes. They are not in the least concerned to build a democratic socialism in any other country—let alone in the U.S.

Nothing reveals this clearer than Car-

ter's human rights crusade. We can begin with his monumental self-righteousness: "I have complete confidence in myself"; "I have never detected or experienced any conflict between God's will and my political duty"; and his desire, upon leaving the White House, to do foreign missionary work to help turn "some country back to God and our side." That kind of talk is not only morally insufferable, but it helps us understand (as much as the Trilateral connection) why Carter chose Zbigniew Brzezinski as his cardinal in charge of national security.

ZB has been remarkably candid about his view of the human rights issue: it is part of a general strategy to subvert the existing Soviet system. The evidence is overwhelming: articles, lectures, books, interviews, and position papers for several presidents. Here let us review one of his most recent pronouncements, an interview published as "From Cold War to cold peace," in G.R. Urban (ed.), *Detente* (London, 1976).

ZB begins by exuding (one might even say extruding) more than a bit of hubris: "During the tense years of the Cold War the Soviets wasted more ink abusing me than they did any other American with the exception of the President and the Secretary of State." Some clipping service, that: it gets ZB up and beyond George Frost Kennan (let alone various others) in a mere 32 words.

He proceeds immediately to say that his conception of detente is understood by the Soviets as "a challenge to their legitimacy and thus to their very existence, and I must say that their fears are justified.... If detente is to become more than a transient and fundamentally unstable relationship, it will have to be much more comprehensive than it is envisaged to be at the present, and that means a possibly gradual but nevertheless fundamental change in Soviet positions at home and abroad." In sum: "I would do more in demanding that the Russians accept the kind of conditions we have [proposed]."

As for fears of a Soviet preemptive attack—forget it. "The Soviet Union is not in a good position to wage war against

the U.S., and I do not believe that the present Soviet leaders want war any more than Khrushchev did." (Now there is an opening quote for someone's history of the Cuban Missile Crisis!)

But that is only the beginning. ZB comes on ever stronger. "It seems to me that we should insist" upon our standards of Soviet behavior. Let us, for example, "use our economic leverage to best advantage." Such tactics "would have a cumulative impact on the nature of the Soviet system."

Throughout the interview he constantly complains that we have been "amoral" and even "immoral." Singing soprano as well as bass, he intones that "we have over-estimated the importance of economic welfare and underestimated the importance of moral and spiritual values." Too much such precious capital has been wasted, hence "change will have to be a process deliberately sought over a long period of time."

Then he has the gall to say, piously, do not misunderstand me: "I don't want it to be thought that I am hankering after the Cold War." But we might nevertheless encourage "non-Russian nationalities" to "gain greater independence and indeed autonomy because this would be one important step toward the pluralization of Soviet society." One wonders if Carter and ZB are that cute and coy in their private discussions.

Brzezinski is candid enough to admit that his strategy is inherently risky. "We have to be extremely careful not to touch off a development which might, once it has acquired momentum, slip out of control and become dangerous even to ourselves." But that belated insight does not lead him to reexamine either his premises or his objectives.

It all comes down to the assertion that the U.S. has the human right to impose its conception of human rights on other societies—even at the risk of nuclear war. I do not see how any socialist can support either the morality or the policies inherent in that outlook.

William A. Williams is president-elect of the Organization of American Historians.

Franklin Wallick

UAW editor takes second look at Poland

Poland, according to some, may be the only communist government in the world today that tolerates a loyal opposition.

When I was in Poland I asked trade union leaders what they thought of the Workers Defense Committee, a fairly large collection of dissidents that has openly opposed official policies of the Polish government. They said they were mostly students and intelligentsia—not real workers—but they volunteered that many of Poland's most distinguished citizens were among them.

I asked a young dissenter I met in Poland, "How do you get away with all this?" Her reply: "There are so many of us, they can't keep track of us."

Poland is filled with contradictions, yet the intensity of nationalism seems to unite its people in a way unique in communist eastern Europe.

Poland is, after all, the only nation where workers have taken to the streets twice in 30 years, and toppled two governments. Eighteen months ago a wave of strikes sprang up overnight and forced the Gierke regime to back down on its plans to raise food prices—which are artificially subsidized by 60 percent and have not been helped by four bad crop years in a row.

There is in Poland open scorn for social realist art, so precious in the Soviet Union.

Polish art must rank as some of the world's most splashy and creative. Surely the art styles of a country are some index to its true heart. By this measurement, Poland's openness and yearning for socialism with a human face must come off as more than mere coincidence.

What of Poland's reputation for anti-semitism? Here recent evidence is difficult to track down. The 1968 purges were aimed at many Jews, some who were hardliners of orthodox communism, and others who were reformers. Yet, the Nazi extermination policies have their ghastly monument in the ruins of Auschwitz and Birkenau, which Poles unhesitatingly show to visiting westerners.

Whatever hates Poles harbor today seem directed at those emigres who fancy a return to pre-war Poland—even though Poland's agriculture is 80 percent privately held. The most sophisticated critics of modern Poland wish to further humanize Poland's present day brand of socialism—possibly in the mode of Hungary—rather than dismantle postwar planning, however clumsy it sometimes is.

Poland's human rights picture contains much that is hopeful. There has been some roughing up of minor figures, a few arrests. But on balance the Gierke government has allowed far more open

dissent—including street demonstrations—than any other eastern European government, save Yugoslavia.

For whatever motives, prominent Poles have taken the lead in challenging the present Polish government for not properly presenting Polish history in the schools, for toadying to the Soviets too much and for failing to reform Poland's vulnerable economy. In many ways these critics are saying what the Czech Charter 77 group is saying—except that in Poland they are treated far more tolerantly. For this, Poland stands out and deserves our praise.

Polish trade unionism is a mystery. Traditionally, the top-ranking officials of the unions are in tune with those who happen to be in power. Still there is a willingness to question and not slavishly ape the current rules. There is also—perhaps more significantly—a lively shop steward system that genuinely flows from the grassroots.

Polish big shots like to think of themselves as orthodox communists, but deep down in the Polish soul a relaxed democratic approach to life keeps coming through. Some of the confrontations between Polish authorities and dissenters have been nasty. One student protester was found dead under suspicious circumstances. Many were held under house arrest—but at one time the police in War-

saw watched indulgently as an orderly demonstration continued for weeks in the shadow of the Warsaw Cathedral. Again, this pattern of toleration is rare in eastern Europe today.

One astute observer of the Polish scene said correctly: "There are three groups that run Poland—the Catholic Church, the Communist Party and the workers." Each is a distinct, sometimes overlapping, entity. The fervent nationalism of the Catholic Church has been a moderating influence on Polish communism, and today there is a fascinating accommodation between Marxist critics of the present Polish government and the church's tradition of sanctuary. Except for Yugoslavia, there is no other place in eastern Europe where such a wide range of political views is so openly expressed.

Something must be said for the political acumen of Edward Gierke, the canny Silesian coal miner. He took power in 1970 and has charted the shoals of Soviet orthodoxy next door and satisfied the native lust for Polish nationalism at home—while flirting with the Pope, West German leaders, and U.S. presidents from Nixon to Carter.

Franklin Wallick is editor of the United Auto Workers' Washington Report, Washington, D.C.



PERSPECTIVES

□ FOR A NEW AMERICA □

An open letter to the new Pope

His Holiness Pope John Paul I
Vatican City, Italy

Your Holiness:

Tens of thousands of priests left the institutional church during the reign of Pope Paul VI. Many of us were disappointed when the pontiff referred to us, on Holy Thursday of 1970, as analogous to the traitor Judas. We forgave him for that but it seems that this very misunderstanding on his part exposed the basis for his sorrow at and lamenting of the currents at work in the church.

We believe he failed to see us attempting to form a model for the clergy that was no longer ahistorical. We left our positions in the church with faith. We have supported ourselves as St. Paul did, and we have accepted many such inopportune statements from those in high places. We sincerely believe that Pope Paul may understand us better now than he did during his lifetime.

We need a pope whose attention is on scriptural moral leadership. Such morality places our salvation in direct relationship to our response to the material needs of those around us:

For I was hungry and you gave me food; I was thirsty and you gave me drink; I was a stranger and you made me welcome; naked and you clothed me, sick and you visited me, in prison and you came to see me.

Then the virtuous will say to him in reply, "Lord, when did we see you hungry and feed you; or thirsty and give you drink? When did we see you a stranger and make you welcome; naked and clothe you; sick or in prison and go to see you?" And the King will answer, "I tell you solemnly, insofar as you did this to one of the least of these brothers of mine, you did it to me." (Matt. 25, 34-40)

The stress must be on ideal conduct and altruistic responses to life's individual and collective crises. By hindsight, papal emphasis on legality rather than morality has been distressing.

We need a pope who will democratize the church. In the early church, prospective bishops openly sought the office and were duly elected by the people:

This saying is true: If anyone is eager for the office of bishop, he desires a good work. A bishop then, must be blameless, married but once, reserved prudent, of good conduct, hospitable, a teacher, not a drinker or a brawler, but moderate, not quarrelsome, not avaricious. He should rule well his own household, keeping his children under control and perfectly respectful. For if a man cannot rule his own household, how is he to take care of the Church of God? (I Tim. 3, 1-5)

St. Ambrose of Milan was elected Bishop by the people of that city even before he was baptized. Such was the democracy of the fourth century.

We need a pope who will divest the church of its financial holdings and who would welcome an end to tax exemptions for ecclesiastical institutions, especially places of worship. Historically wealthy churches have been corrupt and frugal churches have been healthy.

In opposition to the very fabric of the Roman Empire, the primitive church was clandestine and illegal. It was a prophetic and dynamic force. But conformity to empire after the time of Constantine brought weaknesses that were foreign to the primitive church. We need a pope who will stand up to empire as the early Christians did. Our new pope will be called upon to condemn arms merchants, imperialists and dictators. He must call them to repent.

Opposition to empire will develop a church that is less visible and more ecumenical; less impacted with religiosity and more bent on the spirituality of service. Enemies of justice will no longer be comfortable members.

Many Catholics in Asia, Africa and Latin America are irreversibly convinced that Christianity has no future with capitalism, an economic system which puts profit above the needs of the people.

Postal Workers

Continued from page 3.

cessions or anger that important issues, such as working conditions, are being neglected in the current talks that provokes serious thought of striking among insurgent union leaders. They are equally incensed at the acceptance by the union's leaders of binding arbitration. Burrus feared that a new precedent would be established, reversing the union's long stand against arbitration.

Biller denounced the arbitration agreement as a "violation of the mandate of the constitution." He predicted, "I think you will find that Andrews will face a revolt relatively quickly," perhaps even in an emergency national executive board meeting.

Preparing for a strike.

One revolt was already underway. The Local Presidents Conference of the Postal Workers met in New York Friday, Sept. 1, to discuss the new negotiations. Over 60 local presidents representing most of the big locals were expected to attend. The group, founded in 1976, is open to all local presidents and meets periodically to share ideas and information. Although not an opposition caucus, the Conference now seems strongly at odds with the national leaders and is even in a place to supplant them.

The Conference was expected to begin plans for coordinating a national strike, setting up lines of communication, legal defense and other logistical necessities. Unlike 1970, the first and only postal strike, they want to be prepared this time. There was also a chance that they would move to recall Andrews.

If a negotiating crisis develops, the views of Conference leaders will take on special importance. Already Conference

chairperson William Burrus insists on "the continued possibility of a strike by postal employees." Is there a chance it would be led by the national officers? "None whatsoever," he answered. Furthermore, Burrus believes that a strike is possible not only if there's a bad settlement but also if there is any arbitration at all. "We are demanding a negotiated settlement," he said. "We will not accept an arbitrated settlement."

Strikes by Postal Worker locals in the major cities, honored by the other unions (who were not part of the Sept. 1 meeting in New York), would effectively create a nationwide stoppage of the mail.

Union leaders have been especially angry at the pressure applied to them by political forces. First Carter announced his proposed federal worker pay limit of 5.5 percent and indicated that the postal workers were a first test. Then anti-inflation hectors Barry Bosworth and Robert Strauss urged a restrained pay settlement. The Postal Service sent out its threatening letters to employees, announced a strike-breaking contingency plan, and finally got a restraining order. Congressional representatives have threatened to revoke the Private Express Statutes that give the Postal Service exclusive right to distribute first-class mail—which would in effect hasten the right-wing dream of dismantling the public postal service in favor of private carriers.

"This is not a negotiating atmosphere," Postal Workers director of organization Ben Zemsky said. "I just feel that we've got to teach somebody a lesson that we don't negotiate that way in America. I don't believe anything can be done without a national strike."

"Second only to J.P. Stevens [the notorious southern textile firm], the Postal Service is the most anti-labor organization in the country, Watkins said. "The Postal Service better change its act and so had President Carter."

Zemsky basically agrees with the assessment. "But Stevens can't call the troops out," he adds. "And Bolger talks like he has control of the Army."

Hope for the Pope

Continued from page 17.

They believe instead as did the early Christians:

The faithful all lived together and owned everything in common; they sold their goods and possessions and shared out the proceeds among themselves according to what each one needed.

(Acts 2, 44-45)

We need a pope who understands this and who welcomes a constant dialogue with non-Christians. Such a church will be less triumphalistic and ready to join vast coalitions of Jews, Hindus, Moslems, Buddhists, Protestants and atheists in militant opposition to atomic warfare and militarism. In this setting, atheistic humanists and theistic humanists can work together for world order.

During its years as the captive of empire, the church has wholesaled guilt to its members personalistically. Types and severity of sin were defined and forgiveness retailed individually. The individual has been so very sin-conscious that he or she is driven to non-action; precisely what empire wants. In fundamental Christian simplicity the opposite is demanded. Non-action is the sin and constructive collective action is the virtue. To tolerate ignorance, hunger and disease is to foster violence.

Our new pontiff must be able to teach middle class religionists in the U.S. that their position is perhaps the least innovative and creative in contemporary Christianity. Lessons can be learned from countries in struggle for liberation. The true God is a God of liberation. A god who does not liberate is an idol. To speak of knowing God without working for his kingdom of justice here and now is failure to do the will of God on earth...as it is in heaven.

Conforming itself to empire, church leadership generally lives the life-style of the ruling class. Such conduct is self-condemning. The ruling class has a greater share of the economic surplus than it rightfully deserves. To live on that level is to preach injustice. We need a pope who understands this.

You know that among the pagans the rulers lord it over them, and their great men make their authority felt. This is not to happen among you. No; anyone who wants to be great among you must be your servant, and anyone who wants to be first among you must be your slave, just as the Son of Man came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many.

(Matt. 20, 25-28)

The positions taken by our new pontiff might be so strong that he would not be welcome in many churches. Indeed, the "devout pillars of the Church" might want to crucify him. He must motivate Russians to organize against the violations of human rights in the Soviet Union and he must motivate Americans to organize against capitalistic greed in the U.S. And the new pope must motivate the majority of the world's people to struggle for what is rightfully theirs. The pope we need will alienate the great powers...and he will attract their people.

Because he who is mighty has done great things for me, and holy is his name; And his mercy is from generation to generation toward those who fear him. He has shown might with his arm; he has scattered the proud in the conceit of their heart. He has put down the mighty from their thrones and has exalted the lowly. The hungry he has filled with good things and the rich he has sent empty away.

(Luke 1, 46-53)

May Your Holiness have a great pontificate.

Sincerely in Christ,
Blase A. Bonpane
Dept. of Political Science,
California State University,
Northridge, Calif.

Blase A. Bonpane is a former Maryknoll priest.

Ralph Nader

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TIMES



LIFE IN THE U.S.

HOMECOMING

Abbie Hoffman won't you please come home

Hoffman says underground life is "just like regular life—the kids need shoes, the car won't start, whipped cream makes you fat, and it's hard to meet people at parties."

By Gwenda Blair

You can come back now, Abbie—they've gotten rid of the dogshit.

—Paul Krassner
Aug. 23, 1978

LAST WEEK, AS DOCUMENTATION of FBI infiltration in the Chicago 8 trial continued to mount, 2,500 New Yorkers told Abbie Hoffman that it's time to come home. They had gathered at Madison Square Garden's Felt Forum to see a loosely concocted fantasy trial of Abbie called *Haven Can Wait*, written by Terry Southern and Ciprian Lo-Guidice, and to be there in case the star himself should appear. He didn't, but the evening of testimonial remarks made it clear that his supporters still love him anyway.

Not in the script was the transcript, provided to J. Edgar Hoover by the New York FBI office, of a key Chicago 8 legal strategy meeting. Defendants David Dellinger and Jerry Rubin and lawyer William Kunstler will file it this week with the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Illinois in an attempt to overthrow the criminal contempt citations they received in 1971 after the Chicago 7 trial was over.

Abbie Hoffman was one of eight anti-war activists brought to trial in 1969-70 for conspiracy to foment a riot at the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago. Eventually they were all exonerated, but in 1973 Hoffman was arrested again, this time for selling cocaine. Faced with the possibility of a long jail sentence, he forfeited bail and fled underground. As audacious in the role of fugitive as he was above ground, he has written numerous articles, attended Carter's inauguration,

and even appeared on a videotape that was televised nationally, always asserting that he was the victim of police entrapment and urging his listeners to keep challenging the American power structure. Now Abbie wants to come home, and *Haven Can Wait* was an attempt to create an atmosphere of public support so that the outstanding charges against him might be reduced or dropped. As entertainment the evening was con-

fused and frequently tedious. The dramatic framing device of a heavenly trial starring Taylor Meade and Rip Torn was ambitious but hopelessly inadequate to contain what was essentially a long succession of widely disparate tributes to Abbie. They ranged from William Burroughs' reading from *The Naked Lunch* to Anne Waldman's anti-nuclear poetry, Jon Voight's reading Abbie's letters, punk rock, Allen Ginsberg's "Abbie Hoffman Dope Fiend Blues," and Michael O'Donohue's rendition of "Let's Talk Dirty to the Animals."

The real flow of the evening was a sort of ad hoc "This Is Your Life, Abbie Hoffman," complete with Abbie's mother, sister, brother, an award from black civic leaders in his hometown of Worcester, Mass., and a reunion of five of his former co-defendants under the mellifluous guidance of his lawyer, William Kunstler. Speaker after speaker recalled Abbie's moments of glory, from burning money in the Stock Exchange and attempting to levitate the Pentagon to wearing an American flag shirt on *The Merv Griffin Show* and judge's robes in court. They also spoke of the need for his leadership and creativity now, but leadership of what remained vague throughout most of the evening.

Abbie himself provided tapes about life underground. He said it is "just like regular life—the kids need new shoes, the car won't start, whipped cream makes you fat, and it's still tough meeting someone new at a party." He added that he is "as

active today as ten years ago" and that a major reason he wants to get the charges against him dropped is to facilitate his present involvement in the anti-nuclear movement.

Aside from a sprinkling of celebrities like Andy Warhol, the audience seemed primarily people in their thirties and early forties who might not have known Abbie personally but felt that he had deeply influenced their lives. "Now I'd say don't trust anyone over 40," said one newspaper pressman, currently out on strike, "but otherwise, everything Abbie said is still true."

Former fellow fugitive Mark Rudd, who surfaced with minimal fanfare last year, found the evening an odd mixture of disappointment and usefulness. "It still feels strange to me to be in such a public place with so many cops," he explained. "The whole event was really pretty hokey, but I think it was what Abbie needed. The only unifying element was Abbie, not anything political. In fact, Abbie has far more political substance than most of what I saw last night. But it worked—it gave him the publicity to come back. And I think he should. We need him."

The evening's organizers called the evening a success as well. "We know the pressure was felt in the right place," said press spokesman Rex Weiner. "The district attorney assured Kunstler that if Abbie showed up they would handle the arrest without a fuss. It's clear that they're willing to sit down and negotiate now." Weiner added that the Bring Abbie Home Committee plans further demonstrations of support, including marches to the D.A.'s office.

Gwenda Blair is a free-lance writer in New York and a former editor of *Seven Days*.



Photos by Allen Urkowitz



Left: William Kunstler, Hoffman's attorney. Above: Abbie look-alikes.

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MEDIA

Keeping the lid on anti-nuclear films

By Eleanor Smith

MORE THAN 20 YEARS OF shrinking expectations and growing public disenchantment with nuclear power have forced the nuclear industry to divide its public relations efforts between "accentuating the positive" and "eliminating the negative."

The industry is now engaged in a stepped-up advertising campaign behind "Citizen Atom" and, according to television and movie writers and producers, an ambitious, expensive and controversial effort to block or influence films and TV shows depicting potential perils of nuclear power.

Targets of the so-called "media watch and suppression effort" have ranged from the ridiculous to the sublime, from Spiderman to Karen Silkwood. Those involved in the productions contend that the nuclear industry has scored successes in keeping controversial material off the airwaves and movie screens. "Anyone trying to produce nuclear films hears from the industry," said Don Widener, an Emmy Award-winning filmmaker who has produced two films on nuclear power.

Industry threats.

While it is hardly surprising that the industry should be interested in such projects, though they deny exercising any influence, Widener believes industry meddling has been unfair and damaging. He claims that while working on the 1971 film, *The Powers That Be*, he received a threatening midnight phone call from the public relations director at the Atomic Energy Commission. According to Widener, the caller asked if he were going to use anything on plutonium in the film, and warned that he would "go to higher sources" to stop him.

During negotiations for his 1977 film, *Plutonium: Element of Risk*, Widener said, "PBS (Public Broadcasting System) got a letter from Atomic Industrial Forum president Carl Walske, screaming about the fact that I was doing another film." The letter, addressed to Henry Loomis, president of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, complained that Widener was the "producer of a slanderously anti-nuclear program, *The Powers That Be*."

PBS proceeded to complete the \$124,000 film, but then withheld it from national scheduling because it was "one-sided" and "over-simplified." Consequently, only a dozen of the 268 PBS affiliates bought and used the film, which features actor Jack Lemmon demonstrating how to build a plutonium bomb in your kitchen.

Andrew Yocum, the PBS director of scheduling, denies Widener's charge that the network yielded to industry pressure. "That was never even mentioned, nor was it thought," he said.

The nuclear industry's switch to the offensive in public relations may be traced

to a 1975 memo prepared by Cambridge Reports Inc., a consulting firm that works for the electric utility industry. "Public support for the electric utility industry is clearly on the decline," the memo said. It then outlined a campaign to "stop the erosion we've seen in the last year in support for nuclear power."

The campaign targeted women, the young, the less educated, lower income people and blacks—what the firm called "low socio-economic status people...the weakest link in the anti-nuclear coalition," as those who could be "made to understand."

As public concern about nuclear power

an episode of "Most Wanted," which depicted a group of plutonium hijackers threatening a large U.S. city. However, several local stations decided not to broadcast the "Most Wanted" episode.

Last spring, CBS officials met with AIF representatives who wanted to "offset the impact" of a two-part episode of the children's show "Spiderman," which dealt with nuclear terrorism. CBS aired the show on April 5 and 12.

"The pro-nuclear lobby is highly organized," said John Angier, producer of the PBS science series "Nova." "They conduct large mailing campaigns," he said and referred to angry mailed protests

had problems getting financing. "Everyone is pretty scared to get involved. It's too controversial for a main studio.... It's like an ant taking on an elephant."

Similar problems have troubled filmmakers Buzz Hirsch and Larry Cano of Carand Productions. Since 1974 they have been trying to make a documentary film on the death of Karen Silkwood, an employee of the Kerr-McGee plutonium plant near Oklahoma City.

Silkwood died in a mysterious auto accident on the way to a meeting with a *New York Times* reporter to whom she had promised to divulge evidence on the plant's safety violations. Her family is suing Kerr-McGee and police agents for conspiracy to violate her civil rights and cover up the facts of her death.

Hirsch and Cano have spent \$90,000 on the project, but have met obstacles all along the way. According to affidavits by witnesses, Kerr-McGee investigators have contacted their friends, sources and even the California finance company that held the loan on Cano's car.

A production assistant, who asked not to be identified to avoid further harassment, said her home was broken into and files and papers relating to the film were rifled. When police arrived to investigate, she said, the first thing they asked was, "How deep are you in the Silkwood case?"

In early 1977 Kerr-McGee subpoenaed all the filmmakers' research material, claiming the papers were relevant to the Silkwood family lawsuit. The filmmakers lost the first legal battle to withhold the evidence, but won an appeal in federal court a year ago.

Cano said that the apparently unhindered airing of a recent episode of the "Lou Grant" TV show, which appeared to draw heavily from the Silkwood case, might be "a breakthrough."

Another door-opener could be *Power*, a film starring Jane Fonda and Jack Lemmon in a tale about an accident at a nuclear power plant that also resembles the Silkwood case. Producer Michael Douglas said he was not intimidated by the nuclear industry. His film is scheduled for release next spring.

(©1978 Pacific News Service)

Eleanor Smith is associate editor of the environmental journal *Not Man Apart*, where a longer version of this article first appeared.

The nuclear industry has tried to suppress films and TV programs that are critical of it.

continued to build and as orders for new reactors continued to decline, the Atomic Industrial Forum (AIF), the industry's main lobbying arm, initiated the Infowire, a telecommunications system to spread information to members nationwide. It also conducted a seminar in Las Vegas on "Nuclear Information Strategies: New Setting, New Approaches."

The industry last year spent more than \$60 million on advertising and public relations, according to the Environmental Action Foundation's Utility Scoreboard. One utility, Georgia Power Co., spent more than \$4 million. It has acknowledged that it operates an intelligence program in Atlanta with an annual budget of \$750,000 and nine investigators to keep tabs on anti-nuclear protestors and projects.

Generating dissent.

Armed with the Infowire and the growing public relations budget, the industry has managed to generate almost instantaneous and monumental dissent to what it considers negative media coverage on nuclear power.

In January 1977, NBC Special Reports aired "Danger: Radioactive Wastes," an investigative report on the problems of nuclear waste disposal. Immediately afterward the Infowire carried an urgent advisory to members to protest the show to NBC officials, government officials and sponsors, Textron Inc. and Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Co.

While NBC stood behind the program and issued a point-by-point refutation of the Atomic Industrial Forum charges, the sponsors yielded. Northwestern Mutual said it will never again sponsor a TV documentary on nuclear power, and Textron said it is unlikely it will.

CBS and ABC have also dealt with industry efforts to suppress or alter programming. CBS resisted AIF pressure to postpone an episode of "Hawaii Five-0" on a plutonium terrorist plot. And ABC rejected an AIF bid to prevent airing of

following two "Nova" programs on nuclear issues, "The Plutonium Connection" and "Incident at Brown's Ferry."

Hollywood, too.

The industry also has attempted to block production of Hollywood films, according to some producers.

Film rights to Tom Scortia and Frank Robinson's book, *The Prometheus Crisis*, concerning a reactor meltdown were sold to Paramount Pictures in 1975. A few months later Paramount dropped the option, blaming "problems with the script" and "changes in management."

However, producer Peter Bart, whom Paramount assigned to oversee the film, claimed that an AIF representative visited the studio to discuss the production shortly afterward. "It was all very slick," Bart told Richard Pollock of *Critical Mass Journal*, an anti-nuclear publication. "Nobody from AIF ever said, 'We're going to blow up your office,'" but, Bart said, they got their message across.

Paramount, Pollock noted, is a subsidiary of Gulf and Western, which also owns the Energy Production Group (EPG), a division that manufactures products for nuclear power plants. A third of Gulf and Western's gross earnings for 1975 were related to the EPG.

The rights for *The Prometheus Crisis* have since been sold to independent filmmaker George Braunstein of Crystal Juke-Box Film Corp. Braunstein said he has

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BOOKS

Women writers' plight

SILENCES

By Tillie Olsen
Delacorte, New York, \$10.95

There's a story Tillie Olsen tells about her Russian-born mother, an "incorruptible atheist" who died of cancer and left her children this dream she had one winter: There was a knock on the door and three wise men entered, dressed in beautiful robes of gold and blue and crimson that were covered with the intricate hand embroidery created so painstakingly by the village women.

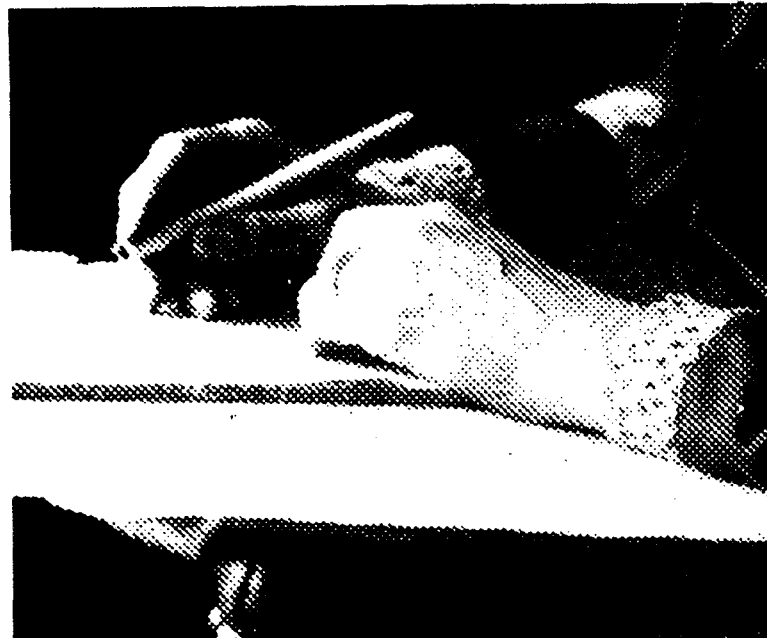
The first wise man said, "We have come to talk with you," but Tillie's mother replied, "Oh, no, I am not a believer!" When they insisted they had come to talk only about wisdom and about life, she allowed them to enter; but as they began talking she saw they were not men at all, but women.

And they were not dressed in royal colors but as peasants, their bodies not beautiful but bent, "used like a tool, if used." When she saw what the women were worshipping she felt like worshipping, too; because it was what she had worshipped all her life, and it had made her a revolutionary. She saw they knelt before the universal human infant, soon to be crucified—into sex, into race, into class.

Her mother's dream was a vision of the wrong in the world to Tillie Olsen, for whom the circumstances of raising and supporting four children took the bulk of time in the 20 years after she published her first work of fiction. *Silences* is about those "unnatural" silences of writers, when "circumstances, including class, color, sex; the times, climate into which one is born" work to thwart the creative pro-

cess. Part I brings together three previous essays: "Silences," "One Out of Twelve: Writers Who Are Women in Our Century," and her afterword to Rebecca Harding Davis' little-known novel, *Life in the Iron Mills*. Part II lets the writers speak for themselves. Through an accretion of anecdote, diary entries, letters and lists we see the everyday struggle of writers (some as great in achievement as Joseph Conrad and Virginia Woolf) to get to their work, complete and deliver it to the world in its envisioned form. Part III includes excerpts from Davis' *Life in the Iron Mills* and Baudelaire's *My Heart Laid Bare*.

Some of the book's richest moments come as Olsen examines at length the silence of a writer whose life and work, like Davis', she has recovered from decades of neglect. Here she offers a rare look at what one writer most cherishes in another. She discovered *Life in the Iron Mills* as a magazine serial when she was 15, and had bought some old volumes of *Atlantic Monthly* in an Omaha junkshop. Olsen recognized some of herself in the working-class characters: "To those of us, descendants of their class, hungry for any rendering of what our vanished people were like... *Life in the Iron Mills* is immeasurably valuable. Details, questions, Vision, found nowhere else—dignified into literature." It helped shore up the writer's belief that she had something important to say, and the first chapters of a novel then called *The Iron Throat* were published in a 1934 *Partisan Review*, when Olsen was 21 years old. Forty years later she ended one of her own silences, when she recovered that book's unfinished chapters, completing and publishing them



Tillie Olsen explores a writer's unnatural silences.

as the novel *Yonnondio*.

Although Olsen writes that *Silences* is intended to "rededicate and encourage" writers, and by extension their partners, readers, it achieves something more: A de-mythologizing of the creative process of a starving writer in a cold garret—that essential misery of the working writer who must suffer to create. "Blight never does good to a tree," she quotes William Blake, "...but if it still bear fruit, let none say that the fruit was in consequence of the blight." The experience in these writers' words is one of consistent struggle for concentration, time and money; a stroking of the spirit against self-doubt and the indifference of the unexpected world. In her words:

"The attitude: nobody owes you (the writer) anything; the world never asked you to write. My long ago and still instinctive response: What's wrong with the world then, that it doesn't ask—and make it possible—for people to raise and contribute the best that is in them."

There is a special section on the writer-woman, testimony of the writing wives, mothers and single women to their special obstacles: a history of prejudice, restriction, and the sad ambuscade of love:

"The oppression of women is like no other form of oppression

(class, color—though these have parallels). It is an oppression entangled through with human love, human need, genuine (core) human satisfactions... How to separate out the chains from the bonds, the harms from the value, the truth from the lies."

It's a human as well as a writer's task, Tillie Olsen reminds us in a footnote. For those who have read her prize-winning novella, *Tell Me a Riddle*, *Silences* will be familiar in its repeated quotes and phrases that echo the most resonant parts of what she wants to say. And though some might find a book chapter headed "Acerbs, Asides, Amulets, Exhumations, Sources, Deepenings, Roundings, Expansions" a bit unwieldy, remember this non-fiction book is first of all the work of a fiction writer; her "deepenings and roundings" convey a richer truth than a national conference on creativity (from which she also quotes) can hope to deliver alone.

All Tillie Olsen has assembled here of writers' feelings on their work and working circumstances hint there is much more to be heard on this subject. She has begun generously, in her writer's voice, to speak some of the silences of literature.

—Barbara Bedway
Barbara Bedway is a free-lance writer in New York City.

A feminist view of global catastrophe

LUCIFER'S HAMMER

By Larry Niven & Jerry Pournelle
Fawcett Crest, New York, \$2.50

WALK TO THE END OF THE WORLD

By Suzy McKee Charnas
Ballantine Books, N.Y., \$1.25

Global catastrophe and what happens after is a recurring theme in science fiction. It offers authors a chance to show what they believe is basic in human nature once civilization's slate is wiped clean.

Too often, what emerges shows the cautious conservatism with which many science fiction writers view society. *Lucifer's Hammer*, by two of the field's ablest and best known authors, is a case in point.

Niven and Pournelle have produced a fast-moving action novel. When a comet strikes the Earth, earthquakes, tidal waves, windstorms and massive flooding bring down civilization as we know it. Survivors in a small area of California, including refugees from Los Angeles, struggle to keep alive and rebuild.

As the plot develops, the authors give free rein to their prejudices. Environmentalists take a particularly hard bruising, even before the comet strikes. One of the main characters, a television reporter, is thrown into sudden rage by a chance meeting with a spokeswoman for the "People's Lobby," who expresses concern about fluorocarbon contamination of the ozone layer. After the catastrophe, environmentalists become a mindless source of opposition to salvaging what technology is left.

Women, however strong or independent, all "instinctively" attach themselves to the strongest male available after the disaster.

How will the world of *Lucifer's Hammer* differ from ours after the survivors have rebuilt? Not much—except it will be purged of what the authors plain-

ly see as faddish, soft-headed liberalism.

The conservatism of *Lucifer's Hammer* is clearer next to *Walk to the End of the World* by Suzy McKee Charnas.

Walk is almost a world built by carrying Niven's and Pournelle's prejudices to extremes.

The world of *Walk* is the Holdfast, a precarious foothold created by the descendants of high officials who sat out a nuclear war in shelters. Unable to face their guilt for the disaster, they blame all who once challenged their power: wild animals, the colored races, rebellious youth, "and most of all the men's own cunning, greedy females." Of these "unmen" only women and the young remain. Society is built around their rigid subordination.

A group of rebels against these rigid patterns sets out across the length of the Holdfast. The central man in the group is Eykar Bey, a son who has learned his father's identity and is thereby doomed by the beliefs of the Holdfast to a deadly confrontation with him. Along the way the men pick up Aldera, a "fem" content to use the men while she seeks to guarantee the survival of the subjugated women.

During the course of the journey, Charnas uses Aldera's viewpoint to question accepted images in science fiction. Raf Maggomas, Bey's father, is a brilliant, rebellious inventor-turned-ruler, a familiar figure in the work of classic science fiction authors such as E.E. Smith and John W. Campbell. He is also, when his victims are accepted as persons, a callous, ruthless mass murderer.

It would be easy for such a book to become overstated and shrill. Charnas avoids this pitfall, and uses good writing, vivid imagination, and fully-developed characters to question conventional thinking about sex roles and male superiority.

—Bob McMahon

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MOVIES

Sgt. Pepper submarines to new lows

Peter Frampton sings with a bottle of murine in each eye.

SGT. PEPPER'S LONELY HEARTS CLUB BAND

Screenplay by Henry Edwards
Directed by Michael Schultz
Produced by Robert Stigwood
RSO film, a Universal release

I walked into the theater ten minutes late, with the slightest of expectations, but quickly realized I had not set my sights low enough and that I should have come two hours late instead. This film has everything: sure-draw headlines backed by star-studded cameos, an already-proven score, with gimmicks lifted from *Star Wars* should all else fail. It has everything, that is, except a reason to exist.

Not content with ripping off what little plot there is in this blithering embarrassment from the unpretentious film *Yellow Submarine*, the people responsible have also seen fit to pillage and plunder some of the finest popular music of our time. It's impossible to believe the Beatles' music could be made to sound so unrelievedly bad until you hear the Bee Gees' version of "A Day in the Life," or Peter Frampton—with a bottle of Murine in each eye—doing "Long and Winding Road."

As for acting, well, Frampton and the Brothers Gibb (together, the Lonely Hearts Club Band) worked up through the ranks of the hard way—by selling millions of

records. To call their performance catatonic would be kindness. Robin Gibb, in particular, reacts to every situation with a look of stupefied bewilderment that makes you want to reach up onto the screen to shake him out of it. Still, this is to be expected. The real mystery is why an actor of Donald Pleasence's calibre became embedded in such a piece of cement, and why he seems no more out of place here than the other zombies. The only ones who deliver themselves with any grace are Steve Martin, who has all-too-brief a scene as the demented Dr. Maxwell Edison, and Aerosmith, who plays the Future Villain Band. Perhaps "grace" is not *le mot juste*, but whatever Aerosmith has separates them from the Bee Gees, who sing "I Want You" as if they were addressing a cheeseburger.

Which brings us to the whole question of interpretation. "Strawberry Fields Forever," one of the most haunting evocations of alienation ever recorded, is here a romantic ballad. Alice Cooper transforms "Because," a song of spacious wonder, into something like his own "Dead Babies." Even the title song has been tampered with. By arranging and directing the music in this film, George Martin has besmirched his entire history of collaboration with the Beatles. He will never be able to live it down.

Producer Robert Stigwood need not worry, since he has more or less made a career out of bad taste, while director Michael Schultz (whose previous credits include the immortal *Car Wash* and *Cooley High*) is just doing what comes naturally. We

must single out writer Henry Edwards, though, for having concocted the emptiest grap-bag of a script since *Star Wars*, from which he borrows heavily. The Future Villain Band is a sort of collective Darth Vader, Mean Mr. Mustard's "Computerettes" could be second cousins to C3PO, and there is even a "silver hammer" fight between Dr. Maxwell Edison and one of the Gibblets that parallels the now-famous swords of light. And oh, yes, the story: *a la Yellow Submarine*, bad guys steal magic instruments, good guys get them back, music saves the world—and I am the Sheik of Araby.

Now if you'll excuse me, I'm going to turn off the lights, put on my copy of *Sgt. Pepper*—the original—and try to forget.

—Kurt Luchs

Kurt Luchs is a free-lance writer and one-third of the Luchs Brothers, a comedy group from Wheaton, Ill.



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Rec



Sham 69 climbs up the ladder of success.

TELL US THE TRUTH

Sham 69
(Sire Records)

Despite the success of a few performers on the periphery of punk rock, particularly Patti Smith and Elvis Costello, the real stuff hasn't broken through the aesthetic, political, and commercial barriers to American acceptance. Considering the hostility of the American music industry to punk—and the resulting lack of airplay on FM radio, let alone AM—punk's commercial failure in the U.S. could have been predicted.

In Great Britain, however, punk prospers. Many groups have singles and albums on the charts, and now that bans against punk concerts have been lifted in some cities, the punk rock scene continues to burgeon.

Sham 69 was first recognized as an important band late last year. Although the Jam write more engaging melodies and the Clash have a clearer grasp of the radical implications of the unrest among unemployed British youth, Sham 69's debut album is impressive.

Not surprisingly for an album entitled *Tell Us The Truth*, the songs are direct and hard-hitting. Half the album was recorded live, the other side in the studio. The power of a song like "Borstal Breakout" is enhanced, as are all the live cuts, by an audience response that makes even the most enthusiastic American audiences sound as if they were attending a tennis match. One is struck by the honesty of the attack on punk posers in "Hey Little Rich Boy" and the pointed commentary on "Family Life," which begins with Mum calling junior "a bloody burden."

Sham '69s style of simple, rough-edged rock'n'roll isn't for

everyone. But as an example of the unflagging vitality of punk rock, *Tell Us The Truth* is highly recommended.

—Bruce Dancis

Bruce Dancis writes regularly for *IN THESE TIMES* on rock and reggae music.

Sham 69 shows punk still alive in Great Britain, and the Kinks' latest album shows them as vital as ever.

MISFITS

The Kinks
(Arista Records)

For more than ten years, Ray Davies of the Kinks has been one of the great iconoclastic thinkers in rock music. From his mid-'60s jabs at the idle rich ("Well Respected Man" and "Sunny Afternoon") to his more recent forays into transvestism ("Lola" and "Out of the Wardrobe"), he has never ceased trying to provoke his audiences while entertaining them.

Misfits continues the Kinks tradition in grand style. There are the usual doses of Davies' humor in songs such as "Hay Fever," and "Permanent Waves," a satire pointing out that changing one's appearance won't necessarily change one's life. Also quintessentially Kinks are the songs reflecting Davies' political cynicism—"Live Life" and "Get Up"—and the thoughtful, presumably autobiographical, title track.

If this were all, *Misfits* would

be a good, solid album. But two striking songs raise *Misfits* to another level.

"Black Messiah" is a put-down of Rastafarianism, the black messianical religion of Bob Marley and many other reggae musicians. Davies seems to be attacking both the black racism he sees in Rastafarianism and the hypocrisy of white liberals: "Everybody talking about racial equality, but I'm the only honky living on an all-black street..."

He concludes that we all have to live together with less hatred and more understanding, but his statement that "white's white, black's black and that's that, And that's the way you should leave it" is either a racist argument for separation or an understanding that the differences between blacks and whites shouldn't prevent both groups from living together in harmony. Ambivalence aside, "Black Messiah" is brilliantly conceived, beginning as a reggae take-off before shifting into neo-Dixieland.

"A Rock'n'Roll Fantasy" ranks with the Kinks' great songs and it really got me. In this reflection about his life as a rock star, Davies reveals his self-doubts about "living on the edge of reality," wondering whether his band can still continue to develop after so many years.

The reason the Kinks have remained popular despite the shifting trends of rock during the past 13 years is that their music always seems fresh and vibrant. Ray Davies is one of the few genuine *auteurs* in rock. While other supergroups break up or stagnate, the Kinks grow.

"And I know it's a miracle, we still go, and for all we know we might still have a way to go."

No doubt. —Bruce Dancis

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Flirs of the heir apparent

By Jeffrey Gillenkirk

We no longer can say we know nothing about Jerry Brown. These books present a picture of the man who many believe will be America's next

President. Brown emerges as a confused, charismatic conservative who sometimes has the interests of the people in mind and always their votes. He will inevitably try for the presidency. Yet he's succeeded in appearing indifferent to the task: the press in the 1976 Maryland primary dubbed him the Uncandidate.

After years of over-ambitious Humphreys and Nixons, Jerry Brown's coyness with power has made him enormously popular on the national scene. He is Prince Hal to the people, an innocent and flippant heir to our problems, although in J.D. Lorenz's *The Man on the White Horse* Brown is more Machiavelli's prince than Shakespeare's.

Much of Lorenz's cynicism about Brown resulted from his dismissal as director of California's Employment Development Department seven months into Brown's administration. He pictures himself as an activist in a passive administration.

More damaging is his personal assessment of Brown as a cold opportunist obsessed with manipulating the media on his own behalf. Lorenz claims that Jerry Brown pushed the 1975 Agricultural Labor Relations Act for California farmworkers because he needed the farmworkers as a symbol of his compassion. Blacks are too hot in California, but browns are cool symbols.

"Jerry was like the tin woodsman in *The Wizard of Oz*, who had no heart," Lorenz writes. "Cesar [Chavez] would give him a heart. Cesar's alliance with Jerry would supply the warmth."

About interviews, Lorenz quotes Brown as saying: "They're only words." About demonstrators for jobs and environmental safeguards, Brown told the author, "It's all symbols. All they're arguing about is symbols." And about Lorenz's controversial public employment plan that eventually led to his ouster, Brown said: "Listen, I'll believe I have to do something for the unemployed only when I see them rioting in the streets."

An idealist who is now a real estate agent, Lorenz is discouraged that Jerry Brown reads the public mood rather than leads it. The most resourceful tactic of the governor is to delay decisions while he looks to the public for the answer. He is liberal when pushed, and conservative when pulled, a traditional democratic politician with both ears to the ground.

Lorenz's last several chapters on the pushers and pullers in Sacramento are brilliant. We may be in the TV age, but a politician still reacts to pressure. The pressure on Brown thus far has been from business and property owners. Liberals have left him alone, Lorenz says, expecting him to come their way naturally, which he has not done.

Another view or two.

To veteran Sacramento reporter Ed Salzman, Jerry Brown is just another politician. As editor of the *California Journal*, he has watched Jerry since his term as Secretary of State in 1970, and his father, Pat, before that. His judgments are unclouded by partisanship or personal resentment:

"Brown is clearly not a liberal," Salzman wrote during the first year of Brown's gubernatorial term. "The Governor may well be called a conservative. He is tight with the buck, against big government and takes some hard-line stands on crime."

"But Brown may be closest to being a



Is Jerry Brown Shakespeare's flippant Hal, or Machiavelli's Prince of Craft?

JERRY BROWN: IN A PLAIN BROWN WRAPPER

By John Bollens and Robert Williams
Palisades Publishers, Pacific Palisades, Calif., 1978

JERRY BROWN: HIGH PRIEST AND LOW POLITICIAN

By Ed Salzman
California Journal Press, Sacramento, 1976, \$2.95 (paperback)

BROWN

By Orville Schell
Random House, 1978, \$10

JERRY BROWN: THE MAN ON THE WHITE HORSE

By J.D. Lorenz
Houghton-Mifflin, 1978, \$8.95

JERRY BROWN: THE PHILOSOPHER-PRINCE, by Robert Pack

Stein & Day, 1978, \$10

Libertarian—one who believes that the economic system ought to be left alone, that government should stay out of the lives of people as much as possible and that victimless crimes should be wiped off the statute books."

If Salzman is noted for his solid reporting of legislative and executive actions, the other end of the spectrum is covered by journalist Orville Schell, whose day-by-day 'this is what Jerry wears and eats for

breakfast' coverage is groupie journalism, high on detail and low on information.

Brown campaigns for the White House in Ely, Nevada; meets a Hare Krishna at the Denver airport; speaks at a "Save the Whales" rally in Japan after an interview with the President of Nissan motors; breakfasts at Linda Rondstadt's in Malibu; wears a pair of galoshes and a silly wool cap; rides shotgun in a squad car; snubs Jimmy Carter.

It is offbeat and Jerry Brown meant it to be. Unacknowledged throughout the entire book is the fact that at each of these "spontaneous manifestations of Brown's puckish character, journalist Schell was present and taking notes. His most ringing observation is that for all the different worlds Jerry Brown inhabits, he seems comfortable in none.

Just the facts.

The most useful book for clear insight into Brown's political behavior and personality are Robert Pack's *The Philosopher-Prince* and Bollens' and Williams' *In a Plain Brown Wrapper*. Pack is especially strong on Brown's seminary years, when he assumed a militant Jesuit's stance. He wanted to save a doomed mankind, but believed, with arrogant skepticism, that it could not be done. The strength of Bollens' and Williams' book lies in the 50-page chapter, "Brown's Activities as Governor"—just facts.

Some facts: As of January 1978, Jerry Brown had made 2,111 appointments: 658 were women, 198 Chicanos, 167 black, 64 Asians, 30 American Indians, and ten Filipinos. He has opened up some of the government to groups previously denied entrance.

It is clear from these books and the public record that so far Jerry Brown has been more of a performer than a reformer. He has given liberals appointments, a farmworkers bill, coastal conservation and a thrilling, unorthodox public image. He has pleased conservatives with fiscal tightness, although his failure to push moderate property tax reform led to the unexpected success of Proposition 13. Since then Brown has opposed local and statewide measures that would distribute tax-cut savings from the Proposition to renters, but is hedging on rent control.

The fearless forecast.

1978 is an election year. Brown is after the voters who passed Proposition 13, but California's ten million renters may stay away from the polls in November and give the philosopher-prince something to think about. His aloofness, portrayed as a tragic flaw in his character in at least three of these books, has kept him from attracting any true grass-roots support, except from farmworkers. His stance as a populist looks as misleading as was Jimmy Carter's in his quest for the presidency.

Brown has a taste for the political jocular, the advantage of incumbency and an understanding of media. He will win reelection if a renters' revolt does not derail him, then decide whether to go for President in 1980 or '84.

What kind of President would Brown be?

For one thing he would open the Cabinet to women and minorities as he has done in California. Whether he would deny them the funding and autonomy that means real power—as he has done in California—is another question. His concept of "planetary realism" means, domestically, low government spending and a decrease in individual consumption. Internationally, it is easy to see Brown pursuing a JFK-type pattern, with a resolute defense of free enterprise values vis-à-vis the socialist world as first-term politics, and the intention of liberalizing relations with them if he makes it to a second term.

Perhaps these five books and a few more years will slow Brown's seemingly inevitable succession to the presidency and force him to earn his stripes, as Carter did not.

Jeffrey Gillenkirk is a free-lance writer in California who contributes regularly to IN THESE TIMES.